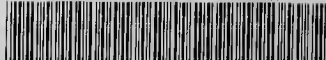
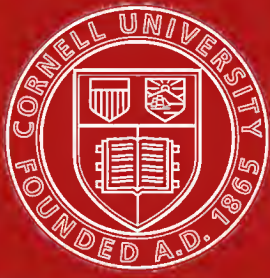


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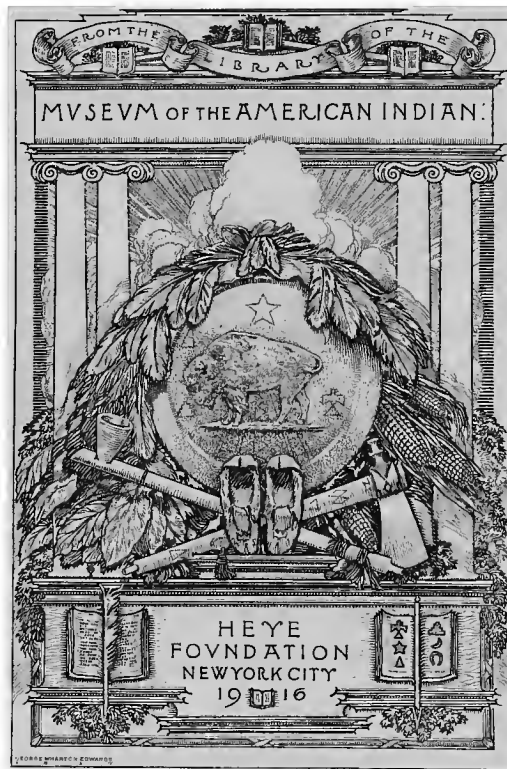


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**A HISTORY OF
LOUISIANA**

VOLUME II



CHARLES III, KING OF SPAIN

1716-1788

To whom Louisiana was ceded by Louis XV in 1762.
Hand-finished Water-color Facsimile, from a painting by
Antoine Raphael Mengs in the Prado Museum, Madrid.

A HISTORY OF LOUISIANA

BY

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HISTORICAL SOCIETY



IN FOUR VOLUMES



VOLUME II

THE SPANISH DOMINATION AND THE
CESSION TO THE UNITED STATES

1769-1803



GOUPIL & CO., OF PARIS

ART PUBLISHERS

MANZI, JOYANT & CO., SUCCESSORS

170 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

1904

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1

THE DE VINNE PRESS

CONTENTS

	PAGE
CHAPTER I. ADMINISTRATIONS OF O'REILLY AND UNZAGA.	
O'Reilly abolishes the Superior Council—Organization of the cabildo—Other officials—First meeting of the cabildo—Unzaga installed as governor—Laws of Spain introduced—O'Reilly's regulations—O'Reilly visits settlements along the river—Names of commandants—Census of 1769—O'Reilly's acts approved—Departure of O'Reilly; his name execrated in Louisiana—Unzaga's tact and ability—De la Torre, captain-general, and Estecheria, colonel—Hurricane and cold in 1772—Father Hilaire and Father Dagobert—Father Cirilo attacks Father Dagobert; Unzaga defends him—Unzaga defends the French friars and praises the people of Louisiana—Arrival of teachers from Spain in 1772—Shipwreck of French officials and soldiers—Unzaga's wise measures—Death of Louis XV—Sympathy in Louisiana for the English colonists—Oliver Pollock—Unzaga's administration soothes bitter feelings against Spain	3

CHAPTER II. FRANCISCO BOULIGNY'S MEMOIR ON LOUISIANA IN 1776.

The Bolognini or Bouligny family—The D'Auberville, D'Aymé de Noailles, and De Coulange families—Services of Francisco Bouligny—Importance of Francisco Bouligny's memoir—Exact description of the province of Louisiana—Island of Orleans—The Mississippi—Towns and settlements in Louisiana—Lands in the rear of New Orleans—The lands from the mouth of the river to Pointe Coupée—Settlements that may be made—Facilities of transportation—Products—Forests—Crops—Peltries—Meat and tallow—Fruits, vegetables, and flowers—Mines—Manners and customs—The Creoles—The planters—The houses—Preference for country life—Three classes of people—The negro slaves—No beggars—Present commerce and decline of the colony—Commerce and progress of the English at Manchac—The Indians—Boldness of the Indians—Influence

of the English over the Indians—The Indians prefer the Spaniards to the English—What is the most advantageous commerce for the state, and for the province, with regard to its present situation?—Commerce at Manchac should be ruined—Advantages of protecting the province—Establishment of a general superintendent of the Indians and of new settlements—Settlers—Redemptioners—Schools—Service in the Battalion of Louisiana—Day laborers and hunters—Duties on peltries and furs—Plan of fortifications essential for the defense of the country—Frigate in the river—Batteries at English Turn—Forts—Walls and bastions at New Orleans—Introduction of negro slaves . . . 20

CHAPTER III. THE ADMINISTRATION OF GALVEZ—HIS WARS AGAINST THE ENGLISH.

Galvez begins his administration—English traders treated severely—Operations of the Americans—Willing's attack on the English—More liberal regulations about commerce—Alcaldes for 1779—Oath of allegiance to the King of Spain—Families from the Canary Islands and from Malaga—Settlement of New Iberia—Galveztown—Storms in 1778—The Isleños—Declaration of war against England—Capture of Baton Rouge—Julien Poydras's poem—Expedition against Mobile—Correspondence between Galvez and Durnford—Capture of Fort Charlotte—Galvez sails from Havana—His fleet dispersed by a storm—The convoy—Galvez obtains an army and transports—The expedition sails a second time from Havana—The troops land on the island of St. Rosa—Brisk firing from the English—Attempt of the fleet to enter the channel—Colonel Ezpeleta marches to Perdido River—Galvez crosses the bar on the *Galveztown*—The squadron follows—Galvez's threatening letter to Campbell—Campbell's answer—Letters of Governor Chester—Letter to Chester—Expedition of the *Pio*—Siege of Fort George—March of the army—The Indians driven into the woods—Galvez wounded—Surrender of Fort George—Surrender of Fort Barrancas—Number of the prisoners—The Louisianians take part in the War of the Revolution . 56

CHAPTER IV. END OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF GALVEZ—BEGINNING OF MIRÒ'S.

Insurrection against Spain at Natchez—Sufferings of the fugitive insurgents—Trial and pardon of the insurgents—

CONTENTS

vii
PAGE

Terrible hurricane—Sympathy of Intendant Navarro—Galvez wishes to conquer the Bahama Islands and Jamaica—Important commercial privileges—Treaties of peace—Controversy about navigation of the Mississippi—Alexander McGillivray—Intense cold in 1784—Departure of Galvez—Royal schedule concerning Galvez—Death of Galvez—Governor Mirò— <i>Juez de residencia</i> —Census of 1785—Arrival of commissioners from Georgia—Letter of Mirò to the commissioners—Help to honest debtors— <i>Bando de buen gobierno</i> —Navarro's wise suggestions—Census of the Acadians—Don Diego de Gardoqui—Terrible conflagration—Schools—Census of 1788	94
--	----

CHAPTER V. GOVERNOR MIRÒ'S DEALINGS WITH THE INDIANS AND WITH THE WESTERN PEOPLE.

Presents to the Indians—Trade with the Indians—The Choctaws—Captain de La Villebeuvre and Mirò meet the Indians—McGillivray's answer to Pickens and Matthews—McGillivray's letter to Mirò—Foundation of New Madrid—General Wilkinson—D'Argès in the pay of Spain—Product of Wilkinson's tobacco—Memorial of Colonel Morgan about New Madrid—Oliver Pollock—Death of Charles III—Expulsion of the commissary of the Inquisition—Wilkinson's letter to Gardoqui—State of Frankland—Mirò district—Failure of Mirò's plan—Communication of the cabildo to the King about the slaves—Arrival of comedians from Santo Domingo—Departure of Mirò from Louisiana—Authenticity of the Spanish documents—Don Pascual de Gayangos	120
--	-----

CHAPTER VI. CARONDELET'S ADMINISTRATION.

Governor Carondelet—Regulations about the slaves—William Augustus Bowles—Extension of commercial franchises—Internal improvements—Fortifications—The parochial church—The Carondelet canal—Intendant Francisco de Rendon—The "Moniteur de la Louisiane"—Genet's schemes—Terrible conflagration—Sugar-cane—Étienne de Boré—The ecclesiastical jurisdictions—Treaty with the United States—Grants of lands to French royalists—Insurrection of slaves—Fort at the Great Osages—War against Great Britain—Epidemic in 1796—Capture of the Balize—New Orleans lighted and patrolled—Application of Indians for lands—Inundation—Surrender of Natchez to the Americans	149
---	-----

CHAPTER VII. THE LAST YEARS OF THE SPANISH DOMINATION—THE TREATY OF ST. ILDEFONSO.

Governor Gayoso de Lemos—The Duke d'Orléans and his brothers—Fort Adams—Concordia—Intendant Morales abolishes the "right of deposit" at New Orleans—Quarrels of Gayoso de Lemos and Morales—Important despatches of Morales—Death of Governor Gayoso de Lemos—Governor Casa Calvo—Sentence against Carondelet by the "judge of residence"—Slaves from Africa again admitted—Census of Upper Louisiana in 1799—Louisiana retroceded to France—Failure of the French expedition to Santo Domingo—Treaty of Amiens—Bernadotte—Victor and Laussat—System of government for Louisiana 170

CHAPTER VIII. CONDITION OF LOUISIANA IN THE BEGINNING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY—MEMOIR OF COLONEL JOSEPH XAVIER DELFAU DE PONTALBA, SEPTEMBER 15, 1801.

The Pontalba family—Settlement of Kentucky—States of Kentucky and Tennessee—Transportation across the mountains—Importance of Louisiana with regard to Mexico—Ambiguity in treaty of 1783—District of Natchez attached to West Florida—Spain compelled to yield Natchez—Two ways of assuring a rampart to Mexico—Efforts of the western districts for independence—Attempts to form an alliance with Spain—Emigration from Kentucky arrested—Congress gains the affection of the Western people—Propositions made by Spain—Spain grants free navigation of the river—Treaty with the Indians in 1783—McGillivray's treaty not approved—Orders to receive all emigrants—Louisiana the key to America—Unlimited freedom of commerce—Loans to emigrants—The United States attempt to settle the northwest—Defense of New Orleans—Louisiana the key to Mexico—Importation of negroes forbidden—Cultivation of the sugar-cane—Indigo—Tobacco—Cotton—Peltries and lumber—Louisiana a burden to the metropolis—The memoir sent to General Bonaparte by Minister Decrès 186

CHAPTER IX. NEW ORLEANS IN 1802 AND 1803, AND THE TRANSFER TO FRANCE.

Life in New Orleans—Merchant vessels—Advertisement of a school—Houses and plantations for sale—Foreign com-

CONTENTS

ix
PAGE

merce—John McDonogh—D'Hébécourt's school—A bookstore—Confectioners and dentists—Miniature-painters—Imports and exports—Laussat arrives—Rigid police regulations—A professor of drawing—Two new schools—Commissioner Casa Calvo—Names of streets in 1803—Cession of Louisiana announced to England—A teacher of mathematics and navigation—Governor Salcedo—Addresses of the inhabitants of New Orleans and of the planters of Louisiana—News from Santo Domingo—Extracts from Laussat's letters—Transfer to France—Laussat's proclamation—Laussat establishes a municipal government 216

CHAPTER X. THE CESSION TO THE UNITED STATES.

Withdrawal of right of deposit—Absolute need of the Mississippi—Livingston's prophetic words—Excitement in the United States—Jefferson's message—James Monroe sent to France—Address of Ross in the Senate—Debates—Bonaparte renounces Louisiana—Livingston's conversation with Talleyrand and Barbé-Marbois—Bonaparte prepares article third of the treaty—The treaty signed—Spain objects . . . 248

CHAPTER XI. THE RATIFICATION OF THE TREATY OF CESSION, AND THE TRANSFER TO THE UNITED STATES.

Bonaparte ratifies the treaty—Jefferson calls an extra meeting of Congress—Debates in the Senate—Opposition of the Federalists—Boundaries of Louisiana—The transfer to the United States—Laussat's "Memoirs"—Message of Jefferson—Claiborne's proclamation and address—Census of 1803 269

CHAPTER XII. UPPER LOUISIANA—ST. LOUIS.

Kaskaskia and Fort Chartres—The six early settlements—The British take possession of Fort Chartres—Expedition of Colonel Clark in 1778—Territory east of the Mississippi ceded to the United States in 1783—Foundation of St. Louis—The Spaniards arrive—The early houses—Customs—Fortifications—Floods—The government mansion—Laussat authorizes Captain Stoddard to take possession—Arrival of the American troops—Address of De Lassus to the Indians—Population in 1803 and 1804—Conclusion of the history of colonial Louisiana 304

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	FACING PAGE
CHARLES III, KING OF SPAIN, 1716-1788, to whom Louisiana was ceded by Louis XV in 1762. <i>Hand-finished Water-color Facsimile</i> , from a painting by Antoine Raphael Mengs in the Prado Museum, Madrid	Frontispiece
DON ALESSANDRO O'REILLY, 1735-1794, second Spanish Governor of Louisiana, known as "Bloody O'Reilly" on account of the execution of the chiefs of the Revolution of 1768. From a contemporary miniature owned by Madame Pierre Lanaux, New Orleans, La.	24
DON BERNARDO DE GALVEZ, 1756-1786, fourth Spanish Governor of Louisiana, who defeated the British at Pensacola in 1781, and after whom the city of Galveston is named. He was afterward forty-ninth Viceroy of Mexico, where he died at the age of 30. From a contemporary painting in the National Museum, Mexico	56
MAP OF LOUISIANA, French Colony, showing the course of the Mississippi, then known as the St. Louis River, and its tributaries, the Indian tribes, the French establishments, and the mines. Reproduced from Le Page du Pratz, "Histoire de la Louisiane," edition of 1757	76
DON ESTEVAN MIRÒ, 1744-1795, fifth Spanish Governor of Louisiana. He afterward rose to the rank of Lieutenant-General in the Spanish army. From a contemporary portrait in the possession of Baron Édouard de Pontalba, Senlis, France	110
GENERAL JAMES WILKINSON, 1757-1825, Commander-in-chief of the United States army and one of the commissioners of the United States to whom Louisiana was transferred from France	

	FACING PAGE
in 1803. From a contemporary painting belonging to his great-grandson, Mr. Theodore Wilkinson, New Orleans, La.	132
DON FRANCISCO LOUIS HECTOR, BARON DE CARONDELET DE NOYELLES, SEIGNEUR D'HAINÉ SAINT PIERRE, 1747-1807, sixth Spanish Governor of Louisiana and afterward Viceroy of Peru. From a contemporary painting belonging to the Duc de Bailen, Madrid, one of his lineal descendants	152
NAPOLÉON BONAPARTE, FIRST CONSUL, 1769-1821, who made the treaty with Jefferson for the transfer of Louisiana to the United States. From a painting by Baron François Pascal Simon Gérard, executed in 1803 (the year of the transfer), and now in the Musée Condé, Chantilly, France	178
CAPTAIN JOSEPH XAVIER DE PONTALBA, 1754-1834, author of an important Memoir on Louisiana sent to Bonaparte in 1801. From a contemporary painting belonging to his grandson, Baron Édouard de Pontalba, Senlis, France. He is shown in the uniform of a captain of the Regiment of Guadeloupe	204
PIERRE CLÉMENT DE LAUSSAT, 1756-1835, Colonial Prefect and Commissioner of the French government, who received the Province of Louisiana from Spain on November 30, 1803, and transferred it to the United States at New Orleans, December 20, 1803. From a painting by Jean François Gille Colson, executed in 1786, belonging to his lineal descendant, Mr. A. Du Pré de Saint-Maur, Château de Bernadets, near Pau, France	224
THOMAS JEFFERSON, 1743-1826, third President of the United States, who acquired Louisiana from France in 1803. From a painting by Rembrandt Peale, executed in 1803 (the year of the transfer), and now in the possession of the New York Historical Society	252
ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON, 1747-1813 (upper left), Chancellor of New York and Minister to France, who negotiated and signed the Treaty of Transfer of Louisiana from France to the	

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

xiii

FACING PAGE

- United States in 1803. From a painting by Gilbert Stuart belonging to Mr. Carleton Hunt and sisters,—Louise Livingston Hunt and Julia Barton Hunt,—heirs of the late Mrs. Cora L. Barton (daughter of Edward Livingston), Montgomery Place, Barrytown-on-Hudson, N. Y. 272
- JAMES MONROE, 1758–1831 (upper right), Envoy Extraordinary to France, who negotiated and signed the Treaty of Transfer of Louisiana from France to the United States in 1803. From a painting by Gilbert Stuart owned by his great-granddaughter, Mrs. George B. Goldsborough, Easton, Md. 272
- FRANÇOIS, MARQUIS DE BARBÉ-MARBOIS, 1745–1837 (centre), Minister of Finance under Bonaparte, who negotiated and signed the Treaty of Transfer of Louisiana from France to the United States in 1803. From a painting by Jean François Boisselat in the Versailles Museum 272
- DENIS, DUC DECRÈS, 1761–1820 (lower left), Vice-Admiral of France and Minister of Marine and of the Colonies under Bonaparte, who advised against the transfer of Louisiana to the United States. From a painting of the French school in the Versailles Museum 272
- CHARLES MAURICE, DUC DE TALLEYRAND-PÉRIGORD, PRINCE DE BÉNÉVENT, 1754–1838 (lower right), Foreign Minister under Bonaparte and one of the negotiators in the transfer of Louisiana to the United States. From a painting by Baron François Pascal Simon Gérard in the Versailles Museum . . . 272
- DON CARLOS DEHAULT DE LASSUS, 1764–1842 (upper left), last Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Louisiana, who, as the representative of Spain, transferred Upper Louisiana, March 9, 1804, to Major Amos Stoddard as Agent of the French Republic. Major Stoddard delivered the Province to the United States March 10, 1804. From a photograph, enlarged from a daguerreotype, belonging to the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Mo. 304
- LIEUTENANT-COLONEL FRANCISCO DE CRUZAT, 1739–1798? (upper right), second Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Louisiana.

	FACING PAGE
From a contemporary miniature belonging to Mr. E. de Cruzat Zanetti, New York, one of his lineal descendants . . .	304
COLONEL AUGUSTE CHOUTEAU, 1750-1829 (centre), who, with Pierre Liguist Laclede, founded the city of St. Louis. From a contemporary painting in the possession of the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Mo.	304
BRIGADIER-GENERAL GEORGE ROGERS CLARK, 1752-1818 (lower left), conqueror of the northwestern country, from the Alle- gheny Mountains to the Mississippi River, from the British, 1778-1779. From a painting attributed to J. W. Jarvis, in the possession of his grandnephew, John O'Fallon Clark, Esq., of St. Louis, Mo.	304
BRIGADIER-GENERAL WILLIAM CLARK, 1770-1838 (lower right), who, with Merriwether Lewis, commanded the Lewis and Clark expedition to the Pacific coast, 1804-1806, and was afterward Governor of Missouri Territory, 1813-1821, and superintendent of Indian affairs. From an original portrait by Harding belonging to his grandson, John O'Fallon Clark, Esq., of St. Louis, Mo.	304

**A HISTORY OF
LOUISIANA**

VOLUME II

CHAPTER I

ADMINISTRATIONS OF O'REILLY AND UNZAGA

O'Reilly abolishes the Superior Council—Organization of the cabildo—Other officials—First meeting of the cabildo—Unzaga installed as governor—Laws of Spain introduced—O'Reilly's regulations—O'Reilly visits settlements along the river—Names of commandants—Census of 1769—O'Reilly's acts approved—Departure of O'Reilly; his name execrated in Louisiana—Unzaga's tact and ability—De la Torre, captain-general, and Estecheria, colonel—Hurricane and cold in 1772—Father Hilaire and Father Dagobert—Father Cirilo attacks Father Dagobert; Unzaga defends him—Unzaga defends the French friars and praises the people of Louisiana—Arrival of teachers from Spain in 1772—Shipwreck of French officials and soldiers—Unzaga's wise measures—Death of Louis XV—Sympathy in Louisiana for the English colonists—Oliver Pollock—Unzaga's administration soothes bitter feelings against Spain.



WHEN Don Antonio de Ulloa was appointed governor of Louisiana, on May 21, 1765, he was instructed to make no change at present in the government of the province,¹ and the King ordered that it be regarded as a separate colony not subject to the laws of his possessions in the Indies. Ulloa's expulsion in 1768 caused different instructions to be given his successor O'Reilly, who was authorized, on April 16, 1769, to establish whatever form of administration seemed proper to him, both military and civil. Accord-

ingly, after the prosecution and condemnation of the chiefs of the Revolution, O'Reily established a cabildo, instead of the Superior Council of the French. By ordinances dated November 25, 1769, he founded the system of government that lasted during the whole period of the Spanish domination.² "Whereas," says he, "the prosecution, caused by the rebellion which has taken place in this colony, clearly proved the active part that the Superior Council took in it, by sharing in acts of the greatest atrocity, when it was its duty to make every effort to keep the people within the limits of that fidelity and that submission which it owes to its sovereign; for these reasons, and in order to prevent the return of such misfortunes, it has become indispensable to abolish the council, and to establish in its stead that form of political government and that administration of justice which our wise laws prescribe, and by which all the possessions of His Majesty in America have always been maintained in a perfect state of tranquillity, contentment, and subordination."

"The cabildo," says Judge Martin, "sat every Friday, but the governor had the power of convening it at any time. When he did not attend it, one of the ordinary alcaldes presided, and immediately on the adjournment two regidores went to his house and informed him of what had been done. The ordinary alcaldes had the first seats in the cabildo, immediately after the governor; and below them sat the other members, in the following order: the *alferez real*, principal provincial *alcalde*, *alguazil mayor*, depositary-general, receiver of fines, at-

torney-general-syndic, and clerk. The office of alferes real was merely honorary, no other function being assigned to the incumbent than the bearing of the royal standard in a few public ceremonies. The principal provincial alcalde had cognizance of offenses committed without the city. The alguazil mayor executed personally or by his deputies all processes from the different tribunals. The depositary-general took charge of all moneys and effects placed in the custody of the law. The functions of the receiver-general are pointed out by his official denomination. The attorney-general-syndic was not, as might be supposed from his title, the prosecuting officer of the Crown. His duty was to propose to the cabildo such measures as the interest of the people required, and defend their rights. The regidores received fifty dollars each, annually, from the treasury. The principal provincial alcalde, alguazil mayor, depositary-general, receivers of fines, and ordinary alcaldes were entitled, as such, to fees of office. The offices of perpetual regidor and clerk were to be acquired by purchase, and for the first time at auction. The ordinary alcaldes were individually judges within the city in civil and criminal cases, where the defendant did not enjoy and claim the privilege of being tried by a military or ecclesiastical judge. They heard and decided in their chambers, summarily, and without any written proceedings, all complaints in which the value of the object in dispute did not exceed twenty dollars. In other cases, proceedings before them were recorded by a notary, and in an apartment devoted to this purpose; and where the value of the

object in dispute exceeded ninety thousand maravedis, or three hundred and thirty dollars and eighty cents, an appeal lay from their decision to the cabildo."

Besides the captain-general and the governor, there were an intendant, an auditor of war and assessor of government, an assessor of the intendancy, a treasurer and a comptroller, two secretaries, and other minor officials.

The cabildo met for the first time on December 1, 1769, under the presidency of O'Reilly.³ Don Francisco Maria Reggio was alferez real; Don Pedro Francisco Olivier, provincial alcalde; Don Carlos Juan Bautista Fleuriau, alguazil mayor (high sheriff); Don José Ducros, depositary-general; Don Dyonisio Braud and Don Antonio Bienvenu, receivers of fines; Don Juan Bautista Garic, clerk. The ordinary alcaldes for 1770 were Don Luis Antonio Lachaise and Don Juan Luis Trudeau.⁴ Don Luis Ranson was syndic, and Don Juan Durel, *mayordomo de propios*.

O'Reilly, at the meeting held on December 1, installed as governor of Louisiana Colonel Don Luis de Unzaga, with a salary of six thousand dollars, and gave him the presidency of the cabildo, O'Reilly himself keeping the title of captain-general, which, after his departure from the colony, was vested in the Governor of Cuba.

The laws of Spain were introduced in Louisiana, in spite of the promise made by Louis XV in his letter to D'Abbadie, in 1764, announcing the transfer of the province to Spain; "for," said O'Reilly, "it is proper that the colony be governed by the same laws as the other dominions of His Majesty in America." The Spanish lan-

guage became the official tongue, but French continued to be the language of nearly all the inhabitants during the entire period of Spanish domination.

O'Reilly made a great many police regulations, and established a revenue for New Orleans. He levied a tax of twenty dollars every year on each of the six inns allowed, and of forty dollars on each of the twelve taverns and the six boarding-houses; and the butchers volunteered to pay three hundred and sixty-five dollars annually without any increase in the price of meat. One dollar was also imposed on every barrel of brandy brought into the city; and in order to beautify the public square and to increase the prosperity of the city O'Reilly offered to the city a lot on each side of the square, eighty-four by three hundred and thirty-six feet, for the building of stores. These lots were acquired later on a perpetual yearly rent by Don Andres Almonester, whose daughter, the Baroness de Pontalba, erected the buildings that now stand on each side of the square. The anchorage duty, of six dollars on every ship of two hundred tons or upward, and of three dollars on ships of less tonnage, was maintained. This duty had been established long ago, to protect the levee in front of the city. The French Black Code was kept; the owners of Indian slaves were allowed to retain them until the pleasure of the King should be ascertained, although, said O'Reilly, "the practice of reducing Indians to slavery was contrary to the wise and pious laws of Spain." O'Reilly made some wise suggestions about the commerce of the colony. He recommended free commerce with Spain and with Havana; but,

with the narrow views of his age, he suggested that none but Spanish ships be received in New Orleans and used for transportation. His regulations with regard to vacant land were also very judicious: six or eight arpents in front, on the Mississippi, with a depth of forty arpents, were granted, on condition that the grantee build a levee, make a public road at least forty feet in width, and clear the front of the land to the depth of at least two arpents,—the whole within three years. Judge Martin says: “In order to secure an early compliance with the conditions of the grants, the grantee was declared incapable of alienating the land until the stipulated improvements were made. Grants of a square league were authorized in the districts of Attakapas, Opelousas, and Natchitoches, where the inhabitants paid more attention to raising cattle than to cultivating the soil. Where the land was less than a league in depth, the grant was of two leagues in front with a depth of half a league. But no grant of forty-two arpents in front and depth was authorized to be made to any person who was not the owner of one hundred head of tame horned cattle, a few horses and sheep, and two slaves. All grants were to be made in the name of the King by the governor of the province.”

O'Reilly mentioned, in one of his letters, the good qualities of Father Dagobert, the Capuchin, and said his stay in the colony would be useful. He said also that, in his opinion, Louisiana should be for spiritual matters under the direction of the Bishop of Cuba. He visited the settlements along the river, as far as Pointe Coupée, listening to the complaints of the inhabitants, inquiring

about their needs, and "succeeding," he said, "in giving a very good opinion of the government of His Majesty." He granted a surveyor to the planters, for measuring their lands and fixing boundaries. Finally, before leaving the province, he appointed several commandants, as follows:⁵ District of Illinois, captain of infantry Don Pedro Piernas. District of Natchitoches, captain of militia Don Athanasio Mezières. Half of the German Coast, which comprised the parish of St. Charles, captain of infantry Don Francisco Simard de Belille. The other half of the German Coast, which comprised the parish of St. John the Baptist, captain of militia Don Roberto Robin de Laugni. Pointe Coupée, captain of militia Don Juan Francisco Allain. Opelousas, Don Gabriel Fuselier de la Claire. Iberville Coast as far as Ascension Parish, Don Luis Tisé. Fourche of Chetimachas, which comprised the whole parish of Ascension, captain of militia Don Luis Judice. Kabahan-nosse, which comprised the whole parish of St. James, captain of militia Don Nicolas Verret. Rapides, Don Estevan Mardefret Laisarde. St. Geneviève in the Illinois, Don Francisco Valle.

According to a census made by order of O'Reilly, the population of New Orleans in 1769 was 3190; and Judge Martin estimates that of St. Louis at 891, and of the whole province at 13,538. By St. Louis was meant the whole Illinois district.

The acts of O'Reilly in Louisiana were approved by royal orders issued on January 26 and 27, March 24, and August 23, 1770, with the sole exception that,

on March 24, 1770, it was decreed that the regulation be declared suspended and considered as not written which set forth:⁶ "that the married woman who commits adultery, and her companion, be delivered to the husband for him to do with them what he pleases, provided that he cannot kill the one without killing the other." This regulation caused "much disgust when it was read," although, Gayarré says, it was not made by O'Reilly, but was taken by him from the Spanish laws. The captain-general, Count O'Reilly, left Louisiana on October 29, 1770. Some of his regulations for the government of the province were judicious; but he displayed no tact in the administration of the colony when he condemned to death or to imprisonment the chiefs of the Revolution of 1768. Not only did he lack tact, but he acted with unpardonable duplicity and cruelty in 1769. His name has been handed down to posterity for execration, and he will always be called in the history of Louisiana, "Bloody O'Reilly."

O'Reilly was succeeded as captain-general of Louisiana by Buccarelli, captain-general of Cuba; and Don Luis de Unzaga y Ameraga, the governor, administered the affairs of the colony with such mildness and good judgment that the Louisianians became somewhat reconciled to the Spanish domination. Unzaga did not enforce rigidly the unwise commercial regulations of Spain, but allowed the planters to buy many goods from the British traders, who had floating warehouses and stores at Manchac, Baton Rouge, and Natchez. By Ulloa's orders, dated September 6, 1766, the trade of Louisiana

had been restricted to six Spanish ports—Seville, Alicante, Carthagena, Malaga, Barcelona, and Corunna. No trade was permitted with any of the Spanish colonies in America, and vessels to and from Louisiana were forbidden to stop at any port, except in case of distress, and they had then to pay heavy charges. In 1768 the commerce of Louisiana was exempted from duty on exports and imports, but a duty of four per cent. was imposed on the exportation of specie and produce from the colony. It was a great hardship to prohibit exports from Louisiana to all parts of the world except to six Spanish towns, as the indigo from Louisiana was inferior in quality to that from Guatemala, Caracas, and other Spanish provinces, and furs and peltries could not well be sold in so warm a climate, and the expense of transportation of lumber to a distant country was great. It is true that two vessels from France were finally admitted every year into the colony; but, nevertheless, Louisiana would never have been developed had the Spanish regulations been rigidly enforced. The British traders furnished the people with goods and slaves, and took in exchange whatever the inhabitants could give. The latter also had ample credit with the traders. Unzaga's leniency in enforcing the commercial regulations caused him to be regarded with some suspicion by a few merchants, who attributed the indulgence shown to British traders to interested motives. But this was surely not the case with regard to the honorable and enlightened Don Luis de Unzaga.

In 1772 the Marquis de la Torre became captain-gen-

eral of Cuba and of Louisiana, and the same year the greater part of the troops that had arrived with O'Reilly in 1769 left the colony and went to Havana. Colonel Estecheria assumed command of the Regiment of Louisiana which Colonel Unzaga had commanded in his absence.

In the summer of 1772 a terrible hurricane desolated the country. It was not felt in New Orleans, but at the Balize and all along the coast, at Mobile especially, the effects were terrible. "The most singular effect of this hurricane," says Martin, "was the production of a second growth of leaves and fruit on the mulberry trees. This hardy tree budded, foliated, blossomed, and bore fruit within four weeks after the storm." There was such intense cold in the winter of 1772 that the orange-trees perished, as in 1748 and 1768.

At the time of the French domination, the Capuchins and the Jesuits had had contentions for the spiritual administration of the province of Louisiana. After the expulsion of the Jesuits from the colony, Father Hilaire de G  neveaux, Superior of the Capuchins, remained undisputed vicar-general; but in 1766 he was expelled by the Superior Council,—apparently as a disturber of the public peace, in reality because he was not in favor of the insurrection against Spain. He was succeeded as Superior of the Capuchins by Father Dagobert, whose name has become famous in the history of Louisiana. He was exceedingly good and simple. The manuscripts in the custody of the Louisiana Historical Society contain a complete account of Father Dagobert's troubles.

After Louisiana had been ceded to Spain, Father G  neveaux returned to New Orleans. He appears to have been a man of ability and of merit, and the governor speaks of him very favorably in his letters. In July, 1772, Father Cirilo de Barcelona arrived in New Orleans with Fathers Francisco, Angel, Luis, and Aleman. They were Spanish Capuchins, and Father Cirilo was charged with a mission by the Bishop of Cuba, Don Santiago Jose de Echevarria, whose diocese included Louisiana. The Spanish Capuchin was to make an investigation into the affairs of the church and the state of religion in the colony. In his first letter to the bishop he says he was admirably received in New Orleans by the people and by the governor. Very soon, however, he began his investigations, and the results, in his opinion, were far from favorable to Father Dagobert and the French Capuchins. Father G  neveaux became the ally of Father Cirilo in his warfare against poor Father Dagobert, and the latter might have fared badly had not Governor Unzaga come to his rescue. The governor wrote to the bishop as follows: ' " He is a pacific man, much liked by the people and by those placed under his jurisdiction. . . . All these friars are excellent men, and set a good example; but among them are some who are well informed, and others scarcely instructed as to the duties of their sacred calling; all, however, labor zealously to the best of their abilities and knowledge, and they are familiar with the great poverty and destitution of their parishioners. Among them, Father Dagobert obtained the esteem of Count O'Reilly and the good will of all

the Spaniards, by his kindness and the prudence of his deportment. He is beloved by the people, and, on the grounds that I have stated, I consider him entitled to the favor of your Grace." The governor recommends that the French Capuchins retain their employment and Father Dagobert remain vicar-general for one year, until a Spanish Capuchin shall be prepared to succeed him. "Father Dagobert," he says, "will always be glad to officiate, because singing in church is with him a passion."

In spite of this kind opinion of Unzaga as to the French Capuchins, Father Cirilo said very harsh things about them, calling them "monsters rather than Capuchins." Father Dagobert, however, wrote to the bishop with great propriety and dignity, and expressed himself as willing to obey all orders of his superior. Unzaga confirmed these assurances of Father Dagobert, "who does not know what it is to complain," while "Father Cirilo does not possess one particle of prudence." The controversy was still going on in 1773, and on July 10 appears another letter of the governor to Bishop Echevarria, of which one sentence offended the prelate. Unzaga said: "Finally, you will think as you please on the subject, but with regard to myself, I know how difficult it is to come to a correct appreciation of the true merits of men of that sacred calling, when they choose to quarrel among themselves." The bishop objected strongly to such words, and the governor excused himself, saying that the expressions he had used were applicable only to the friars and to their disputes. The bishop was not satisfied, and appealed to the captain-general of Cuba, the

Marquis de la Torre. Unzaga wrote a very manly letter to this official on July 10, 1773, and on September 12, 1773, addressed a long and interesting communication to Don Julian de Arriaga, one of the ministers of Charles III. He continued to defend the French friars, criticized the bishop sharply, and spoke as follows of the people of Louisiana: "The people here are neither vicious, nor addicted to debauchery, nor opposed to our habits, although in many respects those habits disagree with their tastes. They have some of their own, as other people have, to which they are much attached, and this is very natural. Those habits are not in conflict with the primary obligations of society; they are not to be eradicated at once, but must be removed gradually and almost imperceptibly." "An enlightened prudence," he concludes, "and a good deal of toleration, are necessary here; for although this is a Spanish province, and although Count O'Reilly endeavored to make its inhabitants forget the former domination under which they had lived so long, still I cannot flatter His Majesty so much as to say that the people have ceased to be French at heart, and that in them is not to be found that spirit of independence which causes resistance to oppressive laws. But I will affirm that they are susceptible of being submissive and loyal subjects, that they entertain great veneration for their ancient laws, and that the state of felicity which they now enjoy is a guaranty to me that they are not to be suspected of being disposed to fail in their duties toward the Crown. Therefore do I endeavor to keep them in the colony, and to secure their love and services to the King, without car-

ing in the least for what I deem to be fooleries. After the blow that the colonists drew upon themselves by their late revolution, the infliction of another would be tantamount to utter destruction." These words of Unzaga do the greatest honor both to himself and to the people of Louisiana whom he appreciated and defended so well.

In our narrative of the French domination in Louisiana we referred to the arrival of the Ursuline nuns in 1727, and to the foundation of their school for girls. After this, no successful attempt to foster education in the colony appears to have been made until 1772. A despatch from Governor Mirò, dated April 1, 1788, says: ⁸ "Don Andres Lopez de Armesto arrived from Spain as director of the school that was ordered to be established in New Orleans; Don Pedro Aragon as teacher of syntax; Don Manuel Diaz de Lara as teacher of the rudiments of Latin; and Don Francisco de la Colina as teacher of the elementary branches; but the governor, Don Luis de Unzaga, found himself much embarrassed for the establishment of the school. Knowing that if he did not compel the parents to send their children to the school, it would not succeed, and that such violence would never be proper, he was satisfied with acquainting the public with the benefit that the magnanimous heart of His Majesty offered those subjects. But not a single student presented himself for Latin, and only a few for elementary work,—never more than thirty, and often six, ten, and fifteen, for which reason the three teachers devoted themselves solely to the teaching of the elements of Spanish." An attempt was made also to teach

that language to the girls in the colony, and four young women arrived from Havana and entered the convent of the Ursulines as nuns. In spite of these efforts, French continued to be the language of the inhabitants of Louisiana, and Spanish was rarely used, even officially, except in New Orleans.

In 1773 Bobé Descloseaux, who had been *commissaire ordonnateur* in 1759, and had remained in the colony to attend to the redemption of the securities emitted by the French government, left Louisiana, with the consent of the King. He sailed for Cap Français with several French officers and several ladies; but the ship on which they were was never afterward heard from. The same fate had befallen the vessel that carried the French soldiers who did not wish to serve Spain on the arrival of O'Reilly, and had chosen to go to Santo Domingo. The ship in which Aubry and some French soldiers had sailed for France perished in the Gironde River in 1770.

The prosperity of the colony was much enhanced by clandestine commerce with British traders. The planters increased their establishments, but some of them preferred to buy slaves and goods from the British rather than to pay their debts. The creditors applied to Unzaga, who protected the honest debtors and compelled those debtors to settle their obligations who were not willing to pay when they had the means to do so. His father-in-law was one of the latter class, and the governor made no difference between him and the other planters. He acted again with his usual wisdom when he offered a free pardon to the runaway negroes, of whom there were

a large number who were very troublesome. He forbade their masters to punish them, and many of them returned to the plantations they had left.

In 1774 Louis XV died and left no regrets either in France or in Louisiana. His reign had been as shameful as that of Henry III, the last of the Valois. He had degraded the "profession of king" which Louis XIV had practised most diligently for more than fifty years, and he carried monarchy in France to the brink of the abyss into which it was soon to fall. By his corrupt, incompetent, and selfish administration he had lost the respect of his subjects, and had brought about the disasters of the Seven Years' War and the separation from France of Canada and Louisiana. Louis XV was succeeded by his grandson Louis XVI, who was honest, but unable to stem the tide of the Revolution, of which the frightful roar could already be heard.

In 1775 the first blood was shed in the conflict between the English colonies and the mother country,—a conflict that culminated in the independence of the United States and in the establishment of one of the greatest nations that the world has ever seen. There were in New Orleans in 1775 merchants from New York, Boston, and Philadelphia who deeply sympathized with the colonists in their struggle against Great Britain. They supplied the settlers of western Pennsylvania with arms and ammunition, through Colonel Gibson at Pittsburg, and with the knowledge of the Spanish governor.

Among the merchants, the most zealous for the cause of the English colonists was Oliver Pollock. It was he

who had acted with such generosity in 1769 when he offered O'Reilly the whole cargo of flour of his brig, on the general's own terms, at a time when flour was so scarce that the price had risen to twenty dollars a barrel. O'Reilly accepted Pollock's offer, but paid him fifteen dollars a barrel and permitted him to trade in Louisiana as long as he wished, without paying duties.

In 1776 Don Bernardo de Galvez succeeded Estecheria as colonel of the Regiment of Louisiana, and on July 10 of the same year Unzaga was ordered to surrender provisionally the intendancy and government of the province to Galvez. Unzaga had been made brigadier-general, and was appointed captain-general of Caracas. In his last despatches he mentioned the inefficiency of the fortifications at New Orleans and in its vicinity; and he called attention to the fact that, in case of war, it might be injurious to the colony to be dependent on the governor and captain-general of Cuba for its military administration. Unzaga left an honored name in Louisiana, and his mild and enlightened government soothed the bitter feelings against Spain which had existed during the administrations of Ulloa and O'Reilly. All the successors of Unzaga were men of merit, but the greatest of all was the chivalric Bernardo de Galvez.

CHAPTER II

FRANCISCO BOULIGNY'S MEMOIR ON LOUISIANA IN 1776

The Bolognini or Bouligny family—The D'Auberville, D'Aymé de Noailles, and De Coulange families—Services of Francisco Bouligny—Importance of Francisco Bouligny's memoir—Exact description of the province of Louisiana—Island of Orleans—The Mississippi—Towns and settlements in Louisiana—Lands in the rear of New Orleans—The lands from the mouth of the river to Pointe Coupée—Settlements that may be made—Facilities of transportation—Products—Forests—Crops—Peltries—Meat and tallow—Fruits, vegetables, and flowers—Mines—Manners and customs—The Creoles—The planters—The houses—Preference for country life—Three classes of people—The negro slaves—No beggars—Present commerce and decline of the colony—Commerce and progress of the English at Manchac—The Indians—Boldness of the Indians—Influence of the English over the Indians—The Indians prefer the Spaniards to the English—What is the most advantageous commerce for the state, and for the province, with regard to its present situation?—Commerce at Manchac should be ruined—Advantages of protecting the province—Establishment of a general superintendent of the Indians and of new settlements—Settlers—Redemptioners—Schools—Service in the Battalion of Louisiana—Day laborers and hunters—Duties on peltries and furs—Plan of fortifications essential for the defense of the country—Frigate in the river—Batteries at English Turn—Forts—Walls and bastions at New Orleans—Introduction of negro slaves.



THE arrival of O'Reilly at the Balize in July, 1769, was announced to Aubry and the people of New Orleans by Don Francisco Bouligny. This officer has left a memoir, written in 1776, on the condition of Louisiana, which is important and interesting.¹

He was born at Alicante in 1736, of a noble family that was originally from Milan and bore the name of Bolognini. In the tenth generation Francisco was in the service of Spain and was made prisoner by the French and taken to Marseilles, where he changed his name to Bouligny. His son Josef settled at Alicante, Spain, after the War of the Spanish Succession, and was the father of Juan, who was born at Marseilles in 1696. Juan Bouligny appears to have been a man of considerable influence. His letters to his son Francisco are very interesting, and he refers to General O'Reilly as if he knew him intimately in Spain. He had five sons and six daughters. The oldest son was Joseph, who was a wealthy merchant at Alicante. The second son, Juan, was Spanish ambassador at Constantinople, and died at Madrid in 1798, honorary councilor of state. One of the latter's sons was ambassador plenipotentiary of Spain at Stockholm. The third son of Juan Bouligny was Francisco, the fourth and fifth sons were captains in the Spanish army. There are extant charming letters written to Francisco Bouligny of New Orleans by his father and by his four brothers—the merchant, the ambassador, and the two captains.

Francisco Bouligny came to Louisiana as aide-de-camp of General O'Reilly, in 1769. In 1770 he married Marie Louise le Sénéchal d'Auberville, daughter of Vincent Guillaume le Sénéchal d'Auberville, marine commissioner of Louisiana, and of Françoise Petit de Levilliers de Coulange. The following letter, written in French to Francisco Bouligny by his father, illustrates the manners of those times:

ALICANTE, June 12, 1770.

MY VERY DEAR SON: Your letter, which I received on May 26, without date, informs me of your marriage with Miss Louise d'Auberville, daughter of the French Intendant-General of the province, aged twenty years, well bred and of infinite merit, which I approve, wishing you all kinds of happiness and benediction in your new condition. May God have you in His holy protection for many years in good health and good union, and grant you what you may need. Give her a kiss for me, as I cannot do so personally on account of the distance. Receive the benediction of your father,

JEAN BOULIGNY.

The Sieur d'Auberville was born at Brest in 1713. His father was Louis d'Auberville, and his mother Marie d'Aimé or d'Aymé de Noailles. Among the papers of the Bouligny family are documents proving that the Sieur de Noailles d'Aimé, referred to by Gayarré in his History of Louisiana as having been vanquished by the Chickasaws, was Louis d'Aimé or d'Aymé de Noailles, "Capitaine des Vaisseaux du Roy, Chevalier de l'Ordre Royal et Militaire de St. Louis," who died at Brest in 1756. He was a brother of Marie d'Aimé de Noailles, and uncle of the "Commissaire ordonnateur de la marine," D'Auberville. The marriage contract of the Sieur d'Auberville and of Marie Françoise de Coulange was signed by Governor de Vaudreuil, the "Grand Marquis." The genealogy of the family Petit de Levilliers de Coulange goes back to the reign of Louis XI, to Etienne Petit, "grand audiencier de France." Claude de Coulange, "seigneur de Bustance en Auvergne," married Madeleine d'Aguesseau, to whose family the

great chancellor D'Aguesseau belonged. The mother of the celebrated Madame de Sévigné was Marie de Coulanges, who was of the same family as the mother of Francisco Bouligny's wife.

In 1795 Francisco Bouligny solicited the rank of brigadier, and his services were enumerated. He entered the Spanish army in 1758 as a cadet in the infantry regiment of Zamora, and served two years; then one year and nine months in the Royal Guards. In 1762 he was sent to Havana, where he remained seven years, serving as lieutenant. On November 1, 1769, he received the rank of "Ayudante Mayor" in the Regiment of Louisiana. He became "Coronel vivo" in 1791, and was promoted brigadier in 1800, the year of his death. He served with distinction in the surprise of Fort Bute and the capture of Baton Rouge in 1779, at the siege of Mobile in 1780, and at the siege of Pensacola in 1781. In 1784 he acted as Governor of Louisiana during the absence from the province of Governor Mirò, and in 1799, "on the sudden death of Governor Gayoso de Lemos," says Gayarré, "Don Francisco Bouligny, who was the colonel of the Regiment of Louisiana, assumed the military administration of the colony, and the auditor, Don José Maria Vidal, the civil and political government."

The following letter, written in French, from O'Reilly to Mrs. Bouligny, shows the stern Spanish commander as a polite cavalier:

MADAME: Your happiness will always interest me, and I shall give you with pleasure all the proofs of it that depend upon me. I congratulate you on your marriage. Your husband is a worthy

officer, whom I esteem highly. I hope that you will be happy together, and this persuasion has made me desire your union.

I have the honor to be very respectfully, Madame, your very humble and very obedient servant,

O'REILLY.

In a letter written to Francisco Bouligny on July 24, 1776, by "El Conde de O'Reilly," the latter offers his services to his former "ayudante." On June 22, 1802, Governor Manuel de Salcedo wrote to Mrs. Francisco Bouligny, advising her that he had received orders to transmit to Colonel Bouligny's heirs his commission as brigadier, although that officer had died before the commission reached him. His oldest son, Dominique, became a United States senator from Louisiana in 1824.

In 1776 Don Francisco Bouligny transmitted to the Spanish government a long and important memoir concerning the province of Louisiana. No mention of this paper has been made by any historian. The author occupied such a high rank, by the influence of his family and by his own merit, that his work is valuable and entitled to careful consideration. The title of the paper is as follows:

Notice of the actual state of the commerce and population of New Orleans and Spanish Louisiana, and the means of advancing that province, which is presented to His Catholic Majesty through his Minister of the Indies, the most illustrious Don Josef de Galvez, with the greatest respect, by Don Francisco Bouligny, Captain of the Battalion of Infantry of that province.

At the bottom of the title-page are the following words:

DON ALESSANDRO O'REILLY

1735-1794

Second Spanish Governor of Louisiana, known as "Bloody O'Reilly" on account of the execution of the chiefs of the Revolution of 1768. From a contemporary miniature owned by Madame Pierre Lanaux, New Orleans, La.



DON ALESSANDRO
O'REILLY

Presented in person to his Excellency, Don Josef de Galvez, Minister of the Indies, by the author himself, on the 10th of August, 1776, at St. Ildefonso.

In the introduction the author says:

Knowing the zeal with which the magnanimity of Charles III, august monarch of Spain and of the Indies, extends his beneficence to the commerce and prosperity of all his dominions, and especially of the province of Louisiana, inasmuch as its greater population, agriculture, and commerce interest the state, as a barrier that it is, and a rampart for all New Spain, I consider myself obliged to present my observations made in that region under the protection of his royal patronage, in order that those new subjects may experience all the felicities to which they are entitled, and the Crown assure its domination.

The author then gives a summary of what he intends to present, and says that his remarks are based on his own observations and on what the natives have told him. He adds that if he makes errors in his political speculations they will be only of judgment, for the spirit that moves him is none other than an ardent zeal for the service of the King, and the greatest desire to see that province flourish, as in its population, progress, and felicity he finds the surest and only means for its preservation. He writes:

Spain possesses all the right bank of the river Mississippi (the origin of which until now is unknown) and part of the left bank from Manchac to the sea—the island in which New Orleans is situated. This strip of land has a width of not more than two or three leagues, and is surrounded by water, by the Mississippi in front of the city, by lakes Pontchartrain, Maurepas, and Visco [probably Borgne] in the rear, and by Bayou Manchac or river

Iberville, through which the waters of the Mississippi flow through Lake Maurepas and other outlets into the sea. The river is about a quarter of a league wide, and in some parts much wider, and is navigable in all parts for more than six hundred leagues, and has a depth, when the water is low, of thirty to forty fathoms, without a fall or impediment. The mouth of the river, however, is only from twelve to fourteen feet in depth, and does not allow large ships to enter the river, as the system of locks employed in Holland has not been introduced in Louisiana. By that system ships of 800 tons are carried a much longer distance than they would be in the passes of the Mississippi.

In the province there are other towns than New Orleans: Pointe Coupée, Natchitoches, Arkansas, which is about half way to the Illinois, and two places in the Illinois, little distant from each other, St. Louis and Pencourt or Miseria [Paincourt].² In front of the latter, on the opposite bank of the river, is Fort Chartres, which was abandoned and demolished by the English two or three years ago, but which has a population about equal to ours. The population is principally in New Orleans, and on both sides of the river Mississippi. The first ten leagues from the sea are uninhabitable, because the land is very low and always covered with water. From that point the habitations begin. The English can reach the Mississippi at Manchac through the lakes and Iberville River, without the knowledge of the Spaniards, as the latter have no establishments on the banks of the lakes except a fort at Bayou St. John, and a detachment of two or three men on the Tiguyu or stream that unites Lake Pontchartrain with Lake Maurepas.

There being lakes in the rear of New Orleans, the water from these lakes is carried by the south winds as far as the houses, which are on the very bank of the river; and, therefore, the land bordering on the lakes is not habitable, both on account of being overflowed and from want of sweet water. There are, however, some places that may be cultivated, where a few families should be established to watch the English on the lakes. Sweet water may be obtained by gathering rain-water in trunks of large trees, and

there is an abundance of game and fish. The lands there are very salubrious and fertile.

The lands on both sides of the river are higher on the banks, and there is such a slope further that when it rains not a single drop of the water that falls on the fields enters the river. The slope is so irregular that it is impossible to measure it with accuracy. The river rises and falls at New Orleans from two to twelve feet. The rise begins in December, and the river remains high five or six months, with some slight variation, owing to the more or less snows in the upper part beyond the Illinois. There are many advantages in the declivity from the banks of the river, among which is the facility of constructing saw-mills, which are of the greatest importance on account of the immensity of the forests in this country; the facility of opening canals of communication with the lakes in the rear of the city, and Lake Barataria on the opposite side of the river, which canals facilitate the transportation of the timber and lumber and of the fruits from the lands in the interior. The river, being high in the spring, communicates a certain moisture to the fields, favorable to the sprouting of the seeds, and the waters irrigate the rice-fields, which are of considerable importance.

After the first ten leagues from the mouth of the river, the lands on both sides are cultivated, and the concessions are generally from 500 to 600 yards front, by 2400 yards in depth. The planters generally cultivate their land only 600 or 800 yards from the river, leaving the rest for pasture, and contenting themselves with cutting the wood that abounds in the rear. The country from Manchac to the river is not peopled equally, and there are places of nearly a league that are abandoned from want of inhabitants. Beyond Manchac there is a part of the Spanish coast which is unoccupied until we reach the settlements at Pointe Coupée, which are about the same as in the vicinity of New Orleans.

In all these places a considerable number of families might be established. The shores of Lake Barataria, the Attakapas, and

Opelousas are very favorable for families to prosper and to increase infinitely, and they are distant from New Orleans less than two days. After settling the latter, attention could be given to the coast from Pointe Coupée to Arkansas, penetrating the rivers that flow into the Mississippi. These lands are so rich that what the hunters report daily about them appears incredible. The same thing happens with the coast from Arkansas to the Illinois, and particularly on the banks of the Missouri; but it is not possible to attend to those regions so remote before the country near New Orleans be securely settled. The Indians in this vast country are innumerable, but as they go where there is more commerce, they are more numerous in the English possessions than in the Spanish.

The greatest advantage of this country is, without doubt, the facility of transporting all its products to the capital in a short time, as four or five men go down the river in twelve days to New Orleans from the Illinois, in a flatboat that may contain 1500 quintals.

It is almost impossible to conceive the abundance of the forests. From Manchac to the sea-shore, only in the island of Orleans, there are one hundred square miles of cypress trees, which are as thick as the hair on the head, and the same on the other side of the river, where the number of those trees, as well as of the live-oaks, is wonderful. On the shores of Lake Pontchartrain and of Lake Barataria there are so many pines that, without exaggeration, they could furnish pitch and tar to the whole world; and they are not less on the banks of the Red River and other regions of the upper Mississippi. One of the most important uses of the trees, for the state and for the happiness of the people, would be the construction of ships in the Mississippi. A small privilege would assure this, and it would facilitate the commerce of the Spanish merchants, who would not have to solicit or to buy foreign ships.

All the lands where forests have been cut down are exceedingly fertile, as they have been nourished for many centuries with the

spoils of so many trees, and they are suited to any cultivation whatever, especially for flax and hemp, which are of the highest importance for ships and would be supplied forever to Havana, as the population of this country increases. There are few countries in the world where so many live-oaks could be found, a kind of wood that is superior to any other for the interior construction of ships. The cypress is also important for constructing ships and masts and houses. In the interior of houses not only is its duration great, but no worms attack it. It would be essential to forbid with severity the cutting of the cypress at any other time than in October, November, December, January, and February, otherwise the wood loses half of its quality and durability. It is useful also for roofs and for staves. The question of timber and lumber is the most important for this colony. Its industry would save large sums of money that are now paid to the English and other nations; it would prevent the destruction of the forests of Cuba; and it would render prosperous one million souls who might establish themselves in this country with their families.

Crops of hemp and flax could be cultivated easily and with great advantage in the colony. The land is admirably adapted to the cultivation of indigo; and although the indigo of Louisiana is not as good as that of Guatemala, the planters are always sure to sell it, were they to make three times more. Blue-stuffs are needed for the large armies of Europe, especially of Germany, Russia, and Sweden. Cotton is easy to cultivate and very useful. By their industry the Germans, and especially the Acadians, whom Don Antonio de Ulloa established on the Iberville coast before reaching Manchac, have succeeded in producing it and in making textures with which they clothe themselves and which they sell to their neighbors. The cotton of Louisiana is as good as that of any other country; and if that cultivation were encouraged, the colony could supply all Europe, and commerce would flourish, as the ships would always be assured of obtaining freight for their return voyage to Europe. Maize is produced in quantity when the ground is well cultivated. It grows eight or ten feet

tall, and is so necessary in this country that were it to fail, the greater part of the negroes would perish, as they are accustomed to this food and prefer it to the best bread. Although the laborers do not always eat rice, it is an article of prime necessity. There is hardly a house where they do not place on the table a dish of rice—in the morning, at noon, and in the evening. The children especially are accustomed to it, and prefer it to the best food. It is very easily cultivated when the river is high; there is nothing to do but to plow the ground, plant the rice, and cover it with water to kill the weeds. Like cotton, it might be made an important object of commerce. Although the sugar-cane grows tolerably well, the country cannot compete with the Leeward Islands. The severe cold that happens sometimes during the winter is not favorable to it; but we should not neglect the opinion of some planters who maintain that the climate is suitable to it. Formerly there were three or four factories here which produced tolerably good sugar, but now they have been abandoned; some say through the want of application and intelligence of the owners, others because they did not find sufficient compensation. New observations should be made in this matter. The tree that produces wax is found everywhere, and requires no cultivation. The only thing to do is to gather the seeds when they are ripe and melt them in large kettles. When exposed to the sun, the wax becomes almost as white as that of bees, and candles are made of it which are as pretty and last as long as those made of bees-wax. The mulberry trees grow wild in this country, especially in the vicinity of New Orleans, where a lady in the time of the French thought to cultivate the silk-worm, and it is admitted that the silk that was produced was as good as any made in Europe. Tobacco is the most interesting of all the products of the colony, and the most lucrative for the laborer, as one man alone can devote himself to it. The tobacco from Natchitoches, Opelousas, and Attakapas is superior to that produced in Virginia and Maryland, and the advantages derived from an increase in its cultivation are as follows: it would furnish freight for the ships returning

to Europe; it would diminish the commerce of the English provinces of Virginia and Maryland, especially if France, our ally, should give us the preference; it would take away from the English and give to us the million of dollars that England derives from France alone by that industry; it would enable the planters to have enough means to devote themselves to other profitable cultivations, as they have done at Santo Domingo, Martinique, and Havana, where they began with the cultivation of tobacco. Wheat is an article of prime necessity, and demands great encouragement and a large population. The lands as far as Pointe Coupée are not suitable for this cultivation; but from that place to a point four hundred leagues above the Illinois country, on both sides of the Missouri River, there are immense regions suitable for wheat, and although they are at a considerable distance, transportation by water, down the current, is easy and not costly. If the population of Louisiana were increased, there is no doubt that the province might provide with flour, at the same price as the English, Cuba, Santo Domingo, Puerto Rico, Caracas, Carthage, Campeachy, and other maritime possessions of His Majesty, from which the English derive annually more than a million dollars, merely from the flour they furnish to those countries. All the peltries produced in the province are valued highly in Europe, especially those of the deer,—which are the most numerous,—of the wild oxen, of the bisons, of the bears, of the wild cats, and of the martens. By protecting this trade, the government may obtain the surest and perhaps the only means of preserving the friendship of the Indians, who are favorable to us, and of gaining the good will of the tribes that are friendly to the English. The vast fields and prairies at Opelousas and Attakapas offer the finest situation in the world for establishing immense flocks, without any labor or expense. Cattle, hogs, and horses can be raised with great facility, and, besides the domestic animals, there is such a large quantity of wild animals, from Pointe Coupée to the Illinois, that in no other country can one get better or more abundant meat. Four hunters, in one

pirogue, go up the river from New Orleans to Arkansas in forty or fifty days, and, entering the White River or the St. Francis, reach such vast pastures and such abundant game that in two or three days they kill enough to fill their pirogue with tallow and with bears' tongues or oil, and return to New Orleans, leaving scattered around the fields an infinite quantity of meat for which they have no use. If some families were established in those regions, they might furnish the fleets of the King with whatever salt meat they might need; but this can only be done with a large population, which is the principal requisite for everything. The apples alone are indigenous in the region of the Illinois, and there are fruits from Europe of which the trees have been transported. The peaches especially are excellent, and the figs, when it does not rain in the spring. The plums from Europe are grown with success, but those that are indigenous are bitter, and are used for fevers. Grapes are grown with ease, but they do not mature with regularity. There are all kinds of vegetables and flowers, and the medicinal herbs are infinite and deserve to attract the attention of botanists. Although this wealth is certain and abundant in the whole country that belongs to us, there are mines of gold, silver, lead, and salt, particularly up the Red River, the St. Francis, and the Missouri. I have placed this subject last, because we must not think to exploit said mines, but to increase the population and agriculture of this country. These mines would be more profitable than those of Mexico, on account of the greater facility of transportation (by water) of all things needed for the exploitation, and on account of the greater fertility and salubrity of the fields surrounding the mountains, from which could be drawn everything necessary for the sustenance of the workmen. This proves, besides, how important it is to the state to preserve this province; for the English, curious, diligent, and instructed, are not ignorant of any of these facts.

According to a conservative estimate, there are in this whole province from two thousand to three thousand inhabitants, and from three thousand to four thousand negroes. The numberless

misfortunes that the inhabitants of Louisiana have endured, from the foundation of the colony, are the causes of the present condition of a country where abound all the necessaries of life. In the books written by the French about Louisiana may be seen the cause of this decline.

This province is without doubt the most favorable to population that can be found in the world. The salubrity of its climate, the beauty and fertility of its fields, the abundance of its forests, the facility of constructing canals to penetrate into the interior of the country, make of this country a terrestrial paradise. The women are all fruitful; and there is no marriage without children, and many of them.

The Creoles are of a healthy and robust temperament, capable of the most violent exercises. Accustomed from childhood to hunting, they pass entire days with their feet in the water, without suffering the least inconvenience. Their industry and diligence are not less, because it is rare to see a father of a family who does not have the best books about agriculture and the exploitation of timber and lumber. There are few houses of which the furniture has not been made by the owners themselves, and men of means do not disdain to pass entire days handling a plow, in the mill, in the carpenter shop or the blacksmith shop.

In all other countries, the men who devote themselves to cultivation of the fields are mere day-laborers, in general, and the owners of important plantations disdain the knowledge and the details of husbandry. In this country, on the contrary, there is a noble and worthy pride, since the greatest praise that can be given to a young man is to call him a good planter, that is to say, a man who understands the labors of the fields. The ladies themselves distinguish and praise the most intelligent and the most diligent, a policy sufficiently strong to make this country reach the highest perfection. The Creoles are not satisfied with theory only, but with daily practice, without having that rudeness which is brought about generally by the heavy labors of the fields. They leave the plow which they have been handling for hours to offer their

hand to a lady to help her across the furrows that they themselves have opened. Foreigners admire the elegance of their manners and the good sense with which they reason on all subjects.

The greater number of the planters who live in the vicinity of New Orleans are the most refined people in this country. Many of them were officers during the French domination, and some are decorated with the cross of St. Louis; the others are merchants also, who, having earned a certain wealth, have invested it in negroes and in a patch of ground. As the cultivation of the land not only occupies and interests them, but gives them facility of increasing their capital, they devote themselves to it with the greatest zeal. They often dine together, and their conversation is always directed toward the condition of the crop and the progress that each one is making in the cultivation of his land. Each one has a few negroes, according to his means, and the wealth of a planter is reckoned by the number of negroes whom he possesses.

The houses are convenient, according to the climate; all have a very wide gallery or covered balcony, which surrounds them, for protection against the intense heat of the summer, and there are fireplaces in all the rooms for the winter, which sometimes is severe. All the houses are thirty or forty feet from the bank of the river, because they are pleasanter thus, and it is easier to embark and debark, as everything is conducted by water. The houses are of wood, brick, and mortar, and the kitchen is about twenty paces to the rear of the house. Especially in the country there is a garden or orchard, which almost all cultivate themselves with the help of their sons and their servants. This garden furnishes them all the vegetables and fruits they can consume, and many of them send the surplus to the city for sale, especially those who do not live far from it.

The dress of the men is usually a jacket and long breeches, to protect them from the mosquitoes that abound here in the summer. All like hunting very much, and boys ten or twelve years old shoot so well that it is rare that they miss a bird. Generally, the people prefer to live in the country; there everything interests

them, and they have all their commodities without much expense. In the city everything costs dear, and as most of them have no money, they flee from the city. I say that they have no money, because such is the passion with which they improve their lands, that hardly have they sold their crops and supplied themselves with what they need for the whole year, such as wine, oil, tobacco, flour, and clothing, when they spend what is left of their money in agricultural implements or in negroes, if they have occasion to buy them.

The inhabitants of this country may be divided into three classes: planters, merchants, and day-laborers. The first are the most important; their sole occupation is the improvement of their lands, and they think of nothing but to derive the greatest profit possible from their fields, in order to possess a large number of slaves, with whom they can accomplish whatever they desire, and satisfy their dominant passion, which is to beautify their plantations. The second class—the merchants—are occupied only in buying and selling and in making occasional journeys to distant posts, eager to be able to earn enough to become planters; for, as this country has no active commerce and there cannot be expeditions to Europe, no trader has remained here. The third class work two or three days in the week, and spend the remainder of their time in the taverns. A few make journeys to the Illinois, hiring out as oarsmen. But those among them who possess a little judgment and are diligent, soon succeed in possessing a piece of ground and prosper.

The negroes are slaves only in name, for in reality they are as happy as may be the laborers in Europe. The master is obliged only to give to each negro a barrel of corn in the ear, and a piece of ground for him to make his crop of corn, rice, or whatever he may wish, a cabin like those that are made here in the orchard of Orihuela, and a yard of thirty or forty paces with a fence, for him to raise chickens, hogs, etc. With his profits, each negro buys every winter a woollen coat, a pair of long breeches, and two or three shirts. With what remains to him he buys bear's grease,

to cook, as he pleases, the corn on which they all live and are so healthy and robust that some persons who came here lately from Havana were astonished to see the negroes so nimble, strong, and bright. It is the custom here in winter, as there are sometimes heavy frosts, not to make the negroes go to the fields before seven or eight o'clock in the morning. They stop their work at twelve, and return to the fields at two o'clock in the evening, remaining until night. In summer they go out at daybreak and remain until eleven, and return to work at three and remain until night. In this way they have the time to attend for a short while to their crops and to their poultry, hogs, etc. When they are industrious and their own crops need their attention, the master gives them a day or two for themselves. They all have in their cabin a bed made of boards, with a mattress made of a kind of dried herb, which is better than horsehair. The cabin is divided into two parts, each one with a chimney. There are in one part a table, crockery, earthen pans, a gun for hunting on feast-days, and, in fact, everything necessary or indispensable. The other division is to sleep in, and above they store their crop. The most elegant, when they go to the city on holidays, are as well dressed as the whites, but they always go barefooted. This is the only mark of their slavery. Nothing proves better the health that they enjoy than the fact that a physician usually makes a contract to attend to all the negroes on a plantation annually for one dollar a head. I know many persons who possess from sixty to seventy negroes, and who, during the whole time that I have been here, have not lost a single one.

One does not see a single beggar in this whole province. Some mariners who have come from Havana, accustomed to ask for alms, more through habit than through necessity, wished to do the same; but as all the women went to the doors of their houses at this novelty, and told them the same thing,—that it was a shame that men, young and strong, should be so lazy,—they were obliged to return to their vessel, giving up the idea of drawing a profit from that industry.

From what has been said, one may see that the people of this country require the least means to give an infinite development to this province, and put it in a favorable condition as compared with its neighbors, however strong and powerful they may be.

The legitimate commerce of the colony is reduced to six or seven vessels, which have come here since the Spaniards have taken possession of the province. Ships of 120 to 150 tons came loaded principally with wines and provisions from Spain, and goods from France, but the profits were so small that most of them have not returned. They did not wish to risk cargoes of peltries and indigo, because the first article is in little demand in Spain, and the quality of the latter is not known there. The articles from Europe can hardly be sold at a profit, as they are furnished to the planters by the English ships in the river, or by the French vessels under the English flag. The Spanish vessels, therefore, can only sell their goods in the city, where one buys much less than in the country.

The commerce with Havana has been a little more useful to the country, although it has not derived all the profit that it might have expected from a regulation of the King which forbade the cutting of cedars in Havana and ordered that the cases in which sugar was sent should be made of wood from New Orleans. However, a certain person, having made a contract to furnish Havana with all the cases that might be necessary, laid down the law to the planters of Louisiana, buying their cases at a very low price, and making them wait from eight to twelve months for payment. Besides, the people of Havana cut the cedars, in spite of the regulation, alleging that they were trees cut before that time, and, as the only articles exported from Havana are brandy (made from the sugar-cane) and a little sugar, the whole profit from freight going and coming depended on the lumber from Louisiana. The latter article being very bulky, a board that was worth in New Orleans four reals of Castile, cost in Havana, with the addition of the freight charge, only eight reals. The regular commerce with the Spaniards in the colony may be reckoned at \$15,000 per

annum, and \$50,000 with Havana, since the regulation referred to, and from \$10,000 to \$12,000 for various contracts made for the arsenals of His Majesty.

The want of direct commerce with Spain and of legitimate commerce with any other province is the cause of the decline of this country; for although an illegal commerce has furnished the planters with all they needed without their being molested, nevertheless they have felt a certain anxiety on account of their knowledge of the severity with which the infraction of the law has been treated occasionally in other Spanish possessions. They all say to themselves: "If there was an investigation, I should be ruined, with my wife and my children." Full of this fear, those who have gained the most by an illicit traffic are the first to leave the colony with all their relatives. They sell their plantations and settle among the English at Manchac. Therefore, there are four bad results: (1) The absence of a man or of a family who might be useful to the state. (2) The depreciation in value of other plantations, for there are fewer people capable of buying than those who wish to sell. (3) The advantages given to a people who are by nature our enemies. (4) The bad example set by those who have gone to Manchac, who depict their fears as much greater than they are, and who exaggerate the liberty and privileges they enjoy among the English. The harm would be much greater were it not that they cannot sell their plantations and leave the province. The decline has been such that houses and lands that formerly were worth from \$8000 to \$10,000, are selling to-day for \$1000 or \$1500.

This is the point that most deserves the attention of the government, and the governor of the province has kept it well informed on this subject. The commerce of the colony amounts annually to about \$600,000, of which only \$15,000 belong to the Spanish commerce and to two ships which, by royal permission, have taken cargoes to France. All the rest belongs to the commerce of the English. They have continually in the Mississippi ten or twelve boats, without counting one or two floating stores, as con-

venient as good houses. The English furnish the planters with what they need, receiving their products in payment, a transaction that cannot be avoided, however vigilant the governor may be, as it would be necessary to place a guard in every house. The articles that cannot be disposed of are sold to the owners of the floating stores or barks, who make use of them afterward, or they are sent to Manchac to form there a depository from which they furnish goods to others of our people. The English engage in this commerce with the greatest profit and without any risk, as it is not they who venture to land the goods.

An Englishman in Jamaica freights a bark of one hundred and fifty tons, for \$1500 at most, to come to the Mississippi. He loads with articles which he takes on credit, and with twenty or thirty negroes. With the product of the goods he reimburses the capital and pays the freight, and a profit remains. He sells three fourths of the negroes, and with the remainder, who are always the best, he settles at Manchac, and in a few years he is wealthy. This proves that the English owe to their commerce, or rather to that which they have with us, and which it is morally impossible to prevent, their establishment at Manchac, saying nothing of the activity that it gives to their ships, which is not small. A Frenchman cannot come to the Mississippi with his flag; he is obliged to freight an English ship, which he loads with goods and provisions with which he makes his profit. But the surest profit is that of the Englishman, as his freight cannot fail. Boats leave New Orleans for Natchitoches, Pointe Coupée, Arkansas, and Illinois. In New Orleans they take something, but most of their cargo is taken from the floating stores, remote from the city, or at Manchac, as they buy cheaper and have longer credits.

Various vessels assemble there, which from London come directly to the Mississippi, and all of which have seven or eight skilled workmen—carpenters, blacksmiths, etc. But what gives the greatest advantage to the English posts at Manchac, river Amite, and Baton Rouge is the fact that English inhabitants who flee from the disturbances in the colonies come to settle at these posts with

all their property. They come very easily, at small cost, some by sea and others by the river Ohio or Belle Rivière; and the best proof of the progress of that colony, which receives no help whatever from England, is that lands untilled and covered with forests sell at a higher price than our cultivated lands near the city. If no means are taken to prevent the development of that establishment, it will absorb ours, and will be a menace for the vast kingdom of Mexico.

The Indians who inhabit this immense colony are innumerable; and without their friendship it would not be easy for us to ascend the river, unless we used large forces, while with their friendship we should have free navigation, and they themselves would be guardians of the river and protect our lands from invasion by the English. The Indian tribes that are friendly to us and receive our gifts are very small in comparison with those that are under the control of the English, and the latter tribes are abundantly supplied with arms and provisions, and would always dominate our tribes if we did not counterbalance the policy of the English.

The plan adopted by the English to dominate the Indians has been the creation of two general superintendents of the Indians, one in Florida and the other in Canada. They have power to make gifts or discontinue them, and to appoint delegates to visit the chiefs or caciques. Every two or three years the superintendents call congresses of the chiefs and principal warriors, and renew the treaties made with them. They regulate also the trade with the Indians; they give passports to the traders, and see that the latter commit no frauds, and they punish those who do. With these means, and with exact justice and humanity, the English have acquired such a power over the Indians that to-day they make use of them to subjugate the colonists.

At present the English have on their lands, and subject to them, the Choctaws, Otchatas, Ochises, Chickasaws, Natchez, and various other tribes that formerly were entirely friendly to the French and the Spaniards. These tribes are near us, and often come to the shores of Lakes Pontchartrain and Maurepas, and to Natchez.

The Choctaws alone can put under arms 16,000 warriors, and the following example will give an idea of the importance of their friendship.

In 1765, Don Juan Estuardo, General Superintendent of the Indians, called at Mobile a general congress of the Choctaws and many other tribes, to ratify and confirm a general peace with them. At the time of the congress came the news that several warriors of the Choctaw tribe had attacked and driven back Major Arthur Loftus, who was going up the Mississippi, with five hundred men, to Fort Chartres in the Illinois, and compelled him to return after a loss of many soldiers dead and wounded. As the superintendent called to account the Emperor or Great Sun, and asked him how it was that his warriors had committed such an offense, the latter rose and answered with great solemnity: "I shall send some of my warriors, not only to my nation, but to all the others on the banks of the Mississippi, to say that from this day they shall help and protect the English who may wish to go up the river, furnishing them with whatever venison and wild-ox meat they may need." He added these remarkable words: "I shall instruct my messenger to say to all nations that if any man of a nation disobeys this order I shall wipe off that nation from the earth." This happened while Don Antonio de Ulloa was in New Orleans, where some one who was a witness of the incident is still living.

This fact and many others prove how essential it is to follow the same system as the English and appoint here a general superintendent, who should know how to conciliate the various nations bordering on the Mississippi and win them over to Spanish interests. As there is peace, we have had no trouble with the Indians; but in case of war, New Orleans would not be secure, unless we acquired the good will of those tribes. The English delegate at Manchac does nothing daily but attempt to attract the Indians who are on our lands, especially the Arkansas.

The influence that the English have acquired over these nations has not been through force alone, but by practising the most exact and prompt justice. When any nation has failed

seriously in any contract, and the superintendent does not wish to punish it himself, he orders the other nations to attack and destroy it; which order is strictly obeyed, until the nation implores clemency and repairs its fault. This important end is reached solely by giving powder and ammunition to those nations that are to inflict the punishment. The control of the English over their nations has reached such a point that they make the children of the Indians come to their schools, and they also send teachers to the nations.

The critical situation in which England is placed gives us a favorable opportunity to draw over to us many of the neighboring nations that were formerly friendly to us, as many in Florida, provided we adopt the methods of the English. The Indians, in reality, prefer us to the English, and, as our lands are better suited to hunting, they would surely come over to us if we adopted the same way of treating them. Not only in this manner should we succeed in decreasing the power of the English and increasing ours, but we should attract to ourselves the nations that are in our lands remote from the river, who occupy the vast country from the Californias to the Mississippi. This is a matter of the greatest importance. If we united with those nations and treated them as the English treat their nations, we should need no other barriers to resist all the English forces. The general superintendent of the English is entirely independent of the governor, and is responsible only to the supreme authority; but if we establish such an office it should be subject to the governor, leaving it, however, all necessary freedom for being respected and obeyed.

There are four systems of commerce that might be established in the province: (1) Commerce entirely free with Spain and with the posts mentioned in the regulation. This would be the most advantageous system, without doubt; but a fatal experience has made us see that in the present condition of the province this system of commerce is not sufficient alone. Count O'Reilly said to the planters: "Sell your products to any one who presents himself and pays in money, but under no consideration receive

goods, as they do harm to your own commerce. I shall see to it that vessels come from Cadiz, Barcelona, and Santander, and if this is not sufficient there will be found a way of giving you a commerce that will make you progress." (2) Commerce by means of a company. This system has the same disadvantages as the former, and many more. By the first system it may be hoped that the nation, as a whole, may derive some profit; by the second, the profit would belong to only two or three individuals. But what profit would this company make if its commerce were not superior to that of the English? It is a manifest error to pretend that the whole country would be satisfied with a commerce restricted and established by means of guards, and that the inhabitants would buy from the company, at four times the price, what the English are offering them in front of their houses at two or three times. They would listen to the repeated offers of the English to settle on their lands and obtain liberty of commerce and tranquillity in their homes, and this would expose the entire security of the country. The happiness and satisfaction of the people are the surest proof of their progress, and I know that the mere mention of a company terrifies them, as they have a general belief that any commercial company with exclusive privileges is the ruin and destruction of the people. It is equilibrium and equality that make commerce flourish. Let companies be formed in Spain, and let them compete for this commerce as any inhabitant of the country: this would be a very useful thing and to be desired; but if a privilege, however small, is granted to any one of these companies, it will absorb in time the commerce of all. (3) A free and open commerce with all nations. This system would doubtless be useful to this country, and would do harm to the commerce of the English, as the commerce of France has a known advantage in the province over that of England. While the country belonged to France, the English never thought of engaging in commerce there, although they had free navigation of the river. No hindrance was put in the way of the English who wished to settle in New Orleans, and they contributed, not to the progress of

their own nation, but to that of the French colony. Let us consider some objections to this system. If there were free commerce by land with Mexico, no one would take advantage of it, on account of the risks and expenses of the long journey. One must pass through various nations of Indians, and cross lakes, rivers, mountains, to reach San Antonio de Bejar, distant more than two hundred leagues from Natchitoches. When this country was French, the governor wished to open a branch of commerce with Mexico. Five or six private individuals, under the protection of the governor, undertook an expedition and went as far as New Mexico; but what happened to them? After infinite labors they lost half of their goods, and the rest was confiscated in the neighborhood of that city. They were fortunate to be able to return despoiled and wretched, and they were and are to-day the jest of the country. There would be no advantage over the regular commerce by way of Vera Cruz. If this commerce was established only at the post of Tejas, which was transferred to San Antonio de Bejar when the whole province of Louisiana was French, and when it received the support of the governor, how could there be commerce with a governor who would be watching this point, supposing that any one were rash enough to risk his money on such a contingency? If the gate of Louisiana were open to every foreign vessel, the French would, without doubt, have a greater commerce than any other nation; but the English would take advantage of their situation at Manchac to develop their commerce as much as possible. The inhabitants of Louisiana, accustomed to having all that they need brought to them, and to selling their products, would lose all spirit of maritime enterprise, and the foreign merchants would not possess that patriotic spirit which the inhabitants of Louisiana would have in order to bring to the country persons and families, to increase the population and develop the agriculture of the colony. In case of war, the inhabitants of Louisiana would find themselves deprived of all ships or means to provide themselves with the most necessary things. (4) Active commerce of individuals and planters should

be established in the colony with places that may be of most advantage to them. If it is permitted to the inhabitants of Louisiana to carry themselves the products of the colony to such place as suits them best, with the obligation that it be in ships constructed in the country itself, and that they bring in return the articles essential to the colony, leaving this commerce equally free to all Spanish vessels coming from Spain or from Havana, the commerce of the English will be ruined, as all the inhabitants will be vigilant guards to prevent a foreigner from undertaking a commerce that should be for their benefit alone. There is not the least doubt that the commerce of the English would be ruined, as the colonists from Louisiana, being able to go to Spain or France to buy what they need at the factories themselves, would have more advantages than the English themselves, who generally buy the goods second-hand, because the products of their factories are not as suitable or as cheap as those from France or some from Spain.

The commerce of the English on the river being ruined, the decline of Manchac would follow, especially if a general pardon were offered to all who have absented themselves for purposes of contraband, and if the Catholics at Manchac were allowed to settle on our lands with all their negroes, which they would do immediately to be near the city. It is so important for the state that Manchac should not prosper, that any individual should be admitted, whatever be his nation, especially if he comes with his family and his negroes.

Count O'Reilly, before leaving this country, allowed all the merchants who had ships to make one or two journeys to Guanico; and had the Spaniards continued this commerce, the English would never have thought of improving Manchac. The absence of Spanish vessels left to them the entire commerce of the Mississippi. If the English were obliged to go up the river one hundred leagues to Manchac to sell their cargoes, they would soon abandon this commerce on account of the excessive cost. And they could not sustain it from Pensacola or Mobile through Lakes Pontchartrain and Maurepas; as, when the river is low, in some

parts they cannot cross over, and even when it is high they must go in flatboats with oars and at great peril, as the lakes have little depth and are very dangerous, at least during strong wind.

The objection that some might make to this system is, that if this country is developed as it will surely be by this means, and its population greatly increased, it may be feared that, in time, finding itself with a navy and with so many facilities to construct one, it might follow the bad example of the English colonies. This objection falls when we notice that from the mouth of the Mississippi to the Mexican Gulf, in our possessions, there is no bay or port capable of containing a ship of two or three hundred tons, and this country will never be able to make such an attempt. But why such a suspicion of a people who will be happy, especially if prompt and equitable justice is administered to them? This suspicion is incompatible with the true and great desires for happiness and progress of this people, and in the critical situation in which it finds itself. I believe that I have proved sufficiently that for the true interests of the King and of the state, for the honor of the nation, for the good of humanity, it is essential to protect it and to make it progress. The Mississippi is and should be the rampart of all New Spain; and to resist enemies, in case of war, with a small population, by means of forts, cities, troops, is a very great and costly enterprise, and not as secure as would be the fidelity of a large population, especially if it is prosperous and happy.

The royal treasury would derive immense advantages from protecting this country, and the King would obtain the means of keeping there the largest army in all the Americas, which would serve, not only for the defense of that country, but also to send reënforcements to any place in Mexico or Havana, if necessary, without the greatest expense to the royal treasury, as experience has proved how onerous it is to transport armies from Spain. By protecting this country we shall take possession, as soon as we wish, of the whole coast of the Mississippi, and also of Mobile and Pensacola, because those towns are on a sandy and barren soil,

and are not capable of making any progress, except through an illicit commerce better suited to form pirates than citizens. The English would not be able to oppose this system, and they would be beaten with their own weapons.

In order that a machine shall move easily, it is indispensable that no part shall be lacking, and that it have the necessary and well-coördinated springs. We shall oppose vainly the policy of the English if we do not use the same weapons as they. At present the province of Louisiana has only fifteen hundred men as regular troops; one hundred of them are stationed at the Balize, Bayou St. John, Manchac, Arkansas, and Illinois, and the remainder in the city. What defense could be made by such feeble detachments without suitable fortifications, if they were attacked? Would the troops from the city go to the Arkansas or Illinois, distant, one two hundred leagues, and the other five hundred? This system, good during a constant peace, could not subsist during the least discord, whether with the Indians, the English, or the colonists, and the fires of war lighted on this continent require a serious attention to the results.

If the colony is augmented, it will increase the labors of the governor-general, and he will need the help of two sub-directors, each of whom will attend to his own department and make full reports to the governor. The latter might appoint, if he so desires, a board of seven or eight intelligent persons from among the merchants, who would give advice to the governor about things concerning the province, without prejudice to his judicial authority. The superintendent-general of the Indians should attend to whatever pertains to them, obtaining from each nation an account of the number of its people, and especially of the warriors, of the land they inhabit, and where they hunt, of the annual consumption of goods from Europe, and the number of peltries they furnish. With the help of the governor-general, the superintendent should foster their trade, make treaties with them, win their confidence, and above all watch carefully the acts of the general superintendents of the English and report them

to the governor-general. Once in two or three years there should be a general congress of all the tribes of Indians, at Pointe Coupée or some other convenient place, to make or renew treaties, to do justice to them, and to treat them with severity and firmness if they are guilty. The small number of troops we have here has compelled us to ignore serious faults; but if the colony increases, the troops will increase, and we shall gradually obtain over the Indians the same authority as the English, who do not hesitate to have them hanged when they have committed any crime.

Five or six hundred men of various tribes go to the Illinois with their rifles and enter suddenly the house of the commandant, who is generally a captain of the Battalion of the province, with only thirty-two men. They ask for brandy or for food, often with insolence, and the commandant has to suffer this or to run the greatest risks. The superiority of their forces emboldens them, and their thirst for brandy makes the risk greater, as they become truly wild animals when intoxicated. In New Orleans even, in the presence of the governor and several officials, four or five Indians of one of our most worthless nations, having seen at a distance two men of a tribe with which they were at enmity, took their rifles and ran toward their enemies. The latter threw themselves into the river to cross it, but as, after some time, they were obliged to raise their heads from the water to breathe, the others who were on the shore fired at them, killing one and wounding the other. Although the guilty nation gave satisfaction to the governor, this incident shows the insolence of the Indians, and the necessity of restraining them and impressing upon them the respect which they owe to the arms and officers of His Majesty.

The general superintendent should also know thoroughly, and have copies, if possible, of the laws and treaties that the English make with the Indians, and communicate them to the governor, that the latter may imitate them or improve upon them, according to the needs of the colony. He should also know precisely the names and numbers of the tribes and warriors under the control of the English, and the lands they inhabit, to be able to give

to the governor a complete knowledge of that important subject. He should obtain the same information about the tribes that dwell on our continent and those that are in the proximity of our possessions in Mexico, also of those who inhabit the remote banks of the Missouri and the Mississippi, as these are the strongest and the bravest.

As general superintendent of the new settlements, he should have a list of all the families that arrive there; and it should be his duty to establish them in the most suitable places, acting always with the approval of the governor, as his lieutenant and representative. He should divide the people into groups of fifty families, and take especial care that in each place there be one man who should know how to write, to give promptly a report of the news. In each place also, the superintendent should take care that there be men versed in the trades most essential to the district, according to the cultivation suitable to it. Each settlement should have, at least, a carpenter, a blacksmith, and others who can work wood and handle an axe well, to help one another in building houses and manufacturing tools and implements.

To each family should be conceded a tract of land two hundred yards front on the river by two thousand four hundred in depth, so that the fifty families should occupy two leagues front on the river and have sufficient land to live from their products, down to the fifth and sixth generations.

The families should be allowed to repay gradually, by the proceeds of their crops, the advances made by the state. The soldiers whose terms of enlistment have expired, and whose return to Europe costs Spain such large sums of money, should receive lands; as it would be important that there should be Spaniards who would be on friendly terms with the families of the country. The discharged soldiers from Havana might be attracted here, and also the families who went to Havana from Florida, to whom His Majesty gives a pension. The soldiers from Havana might be encouraged to marry the orphan girls in those families. The royal treasury might continue for four years or more the pension

that those people receive who have left Florida in order not to submit to the English, and they might be allotted a double share of land as a reward for their fidelity. Thus, after some time, the state would be relieved of the burden of the pension, and on this frontier some faithful Spaniards would be established, who would sustain the sovereignty of His Majesty as they did in Florida.

The French Acadians in Canada are not ignorant of the advantages their compatriots and relatives have enjoyed by coming to the Mississippi, where they were established on the Iberville coast by Don Antonio de Ulloa. Many will come from Canada when they shall know of the help that will be given to them, and of the facility of communicating with the French. The Acadian families have increased very much, and have more lands than the Germans who were brought here by the French at the time of their domination.

The principal duty of the superintendent will be to attract to this country as many families as possible, with least cost to the state. The English have peopled their establishments with the greatest facility. Each ship brought a certain number of men and families, whose expenses were paid by the captain. On arriving in the settlement, the inhabitants gladly reimbursed the captains of the ships and obtained the services of the newcomers for a certain length of time. At the expiration of their contract they were free, and they received a grant of land. In this manner the country was settled without its costing the state anything. I am confident that in the kingdom of Valencia and in Murcia there are many useful persons who, under the same conditions, would gladly go to Louisiana.

The superintendent will have to visit each year all the settlements, to animate them by his presence and make them all contented, as happiness and self-satisfaction assure, more than anything else, the success and prosperity of all enterprises.

As His Majesty has deigned to favor this country by sending here, at great expense, teachers to establish public schools, to teach the youth Christian doctrine, reading and writing, it will

be an indispensable obligation on the part of the new colonists to send their children, from the most tender age, to these schools, which they will not leave and return to the country to their parents before they know how to read, write, and speak Spanish well. For the care and maintenance of these children, each settlement will choose a person who will reside in the city, whose sole duty will be to take care of these children; and the superintendent will have to pay particular attention to this very essential point.

All the sons of the colonists eighteen years old will be obliged to serve two or three years in the Battalion of this province, after which they will be at liberty to return home. This is essential, as in case of war all these young men will come as soldiers under the flag, and will be firm defenders of the state and of their common country.

As there are men who are incapable of emulation and who lead an indolent life, those should receive no help from the state, but should be employed as day laborers or as hunters. The latter are very useful in this colony, and furnish it with bear's grease, meat, and peltries. It is important that there should be persons who cross the vast fields from Natchitoches to Arkansas, and along the shores of White River, Black River, and the St. Francis, as those men give news of the Indians and report whether the English are settling in those regions.

In order not to burden the royal treasury with the cost of these employés and the increase in the gifts made to the Indians, moderate duties might be imposed on all peltries and furs exported. As there are intelligent men in this country, they should be consulted as to the best means of imposing taxes, and the means suggested by those who are interested in the matter will be adopted willingly by all. The governor-general should give all the help possible to those persons, in order that, happy and contented, they should labor for the public good, under the royal protection of our loving sovereign.

To place this country in a state of defense, and protect it from all attacks,—not only from the English, who might introduce

by the river some frigates of war, make expeditions from Pensacola or Mobile by Lake Pontchartrain, or from Canada itself by the Ohio or Belle Rivière,—but also from the Indians and from the inhabitants themselves, these things are necessary: A frigate of thirty or forty guns, constructed in the river itself, and with such strong sides that none of the enemy's boats that may enter the river might compete with it. The guns should be 36-pounders, and the frigate can remain always in the river as a floating battery, to oppose whomsoever it may wish. The city of New Orleans is distant about thirty leagues from the sea; about four leagues from the mouth of the river is a bend that is called the English Turn, where the French have established two batteries. These should be fortified anew and protected in the rear, as the English might come by Lake Pontchartrain and penetrate by one of the different bayous and attack the battery by land. All these batteries should be constructed on land that the river cannot carry away—in places where a beach is formed. It would also be useful to rebuild and strengthen the fort on Bayou St. John; for if the English take possession of it they may, without the slightest hindrance, go by water to a settlement called the Bayou, half a league from the city, and take possession of New Orleans with little trouble. Besides those points, we should prepare for an attack by the English who might descend the Ohio or Belle Rivière. One or two batteries should be established from the mouth of Red River to that of the Ohio. We should rebuild the fort that we have at Spanish Manchac, which is distant only a pistol-shot from the English Manchac. On the opposite side of the river we should build a fort that would protect from the English pirates the inhabitants of the Iberville, Acadian, and German coasts. As Pointe Coupée is beyond the hundred leagues that belong entirely to us, and as it has a considerable population, two forts should be established to protect especially the country around Red River, to prevent the English or their colonists, in case of independence, from reaching Natchitoches or from extending in time their ambitious aims as far as the vast kingdom of Mexico. In

the Arkansas and the Illinois it would also be very useful to have a fort that might keep the Indians in awe. If all the mouths of the rivers that enter the Mississippi on our side are fortified, there will be nothing to fear for the kingdom of Mexico, as it is only by these rivers that the English could penetrate into our continent, on account of the numerous lakes and mountains. All these forts should have batteries toward the river and toward the land, not to be surprised from behind. With all these forts, the avenues would be well protected; but to guard the city entirely, and in order that its fate should not depend on the destiny of a fort, it should be surrounded with walls according to the plan that has already been traced with stakes, and a strong bastion should be placed at each extremity of the city, facing the river, and at the same place where the former governor had a battery established. All these works should be of brick and mortar, to protect them from the inroads of the river, and those places should be avoided where the river has great depth, which are called by the French *écure*. On the contrary, those strips of land should be sought which advance gradually into the river, and which are called *batture*. In this way the works would be entirely protected from the river. The population increasing, the garrison of the city, which is at present very small, should be increased also, as well as the number of the forts.

In his eleventh chapter Boulogny says two commercial houses at Alicante have offered to furnish every year to the province of Louisiana two or three thousand negroes, whom the government would sell to the planters on easy terms of payment. The introduction of such a large number of laborers in the colony would place it, in less than ten years, in such a state of defense that all England united could not do it any harm, and in case of war the whole left bank, from Manchac up, which is now pos-

essed by the English, would become Spanish, a fact that would assure to the sovereign the absolute possession of the whole Mississippi. The author adds that, as in the Battalion of Louisiana there are several officers well versed in mathematics, they should be liberated from service and employed in making plans for forts and calculating the materials necessary. They should also be appointed commandants of the forts. Special mention is made of Don Andres Landry, one of the adjutants of New Orleans, as being well prepared for the work mentioned above.

Bouligny says in conclusion:

I believe I have included all the essential points which, with experience and knowledge of the country, I have been able to collect in this paper, having used as a guide for my studies and plans the numerous instructive conversations I have had on these subjects with his Excellency Count O'Reilly, on the occasions when I have had the honor of serving under his orders, especially in the expedition to this province, on which occasion he deigned continually to intrust me with the most important orders. As my object is not for personal interest, but for the service of the King, and for the prosperity of a province where I am *azendado*, I believe that these reflections may contribute to hasten its prosperity and to make it obtain that of the English establishment at Manchac. The moment is the most favorable, as the English and their colonies are engaged in a civil war that occupies their whole attention. A constant and fixed system is necessary to assure all this territory and to inspire in its inhabitants a constant feeling of union with the sovereignty of His Majesty and gratitude for it. The propositions of this memoir are injurious in no way to the treasury, to the inhabitants, or to the Spanish nation, in common or in particular; from which it follows that the execution

will be easy, as it unites these three interests and gives no just motive of complaint to the English nation. It is not in conflict with the treaties; it deprives the English of no right that belongs to them—considerations which I have always had in view in extending my reflections and presenting them to the illustrious wisdom of the Minister of the Indies.

(Signed)

FRAN^{co} BOULIGNY.

August, 1776.

CHAPTER III

THE ADMINISTRATION OF GALVEZ—HIS WARS AGAINST THE ENGLISH

Galvez begins his administration—English traders treated severely—Operations of the Americans—Willing's attack on the English—More liberal regulations about commerce—Alcaldes for 1779—Oath of allegiance to the King of Spain—Families from the Canary Islands and from Malaga—Settlement of New Iberia—Galveztown—Storms in 1778—The Isleños—Declaration of war against England—Capture of Baton Rouge—Julien Poydras—Poydras's poem—Expedition against Mobile—Correspondence between Galvez and Durnford—Capture of Fort Charlotte—Galvez sails from Havana—His fleet dispersed by a storm—The convoy—Galvez obtains an army and transports—The expedition sails a second time from Havana—The troops land on the island of St. Rosa—Brisk firing from the English—Attempt of the fleet to enter the channel—Colonel Ezpeleta marches to Perdido River—Galvez crosses the bar on the *Galveztown*—The squadron follows—Galvez's threatening letter to Campbell—Campbell's answer—Letters of Governor Chester—Letter to Chester—Expedition of the *Pio*—Siege of Fort George—March of the army—The Indians driven into the woods—Galvez wounded—Surrender of Fort George—Surrender of Fort Barrancas—Number of the prisoners—The Louisianians take part in the War of the Revolution.



ON BERNARDO DE GALVEZ began his administration as provisional Governor of Louisiana on February 1, 1777. He was about twenty-one years of age and he belonged to an influential family. His father, Don Mathias de Galvez, was viceroy of Mexico, and his uncle, Don José de Galvez, was president of the council of the Indies. The young

DON BERNARDO DE GALVEZ

1756-1786

Fourth Spanish Governor of Louisiana, who defeated the British at Pensacola in 1781, and after whom the city of Galveston is named. He was afterward forty-ninth Viceroy of Mexico, where he died at the age of 30. From a contemporary painting in the National Museum, Mexico.



governor was full of energy and ambition, and his administration was both enlightened and daring. The policy of Spain became more liberal with regard to the commerce of Louisiana, and Galvez encouraged that feeling. The duty of four per cent. on exports of produce from the colony was reduced to two per cent., and trade with the French West India Islands was permitted. Two commissioners, Villars and Favre d'Aunoy, appointed by the French government, were to reside in New Orleans, and purchase whatever was needed for the islands. Later, Galvez permitted the French vessels to buy at New Orleans or on the plantations the produce of the colony, paying therefor in specie, bills of exchange, or Guinea negroes,—that is to say, negroes who were not born in the islands, or who had not remained there some time. Permission was also given to bring goods or produce from Cuba or from Campeachy, and all the tobacco raised in the colony was ordered to be bought for the Spanish government.

The commerce of Louisiana soon passed from the English to the French, as Galvez treated the English traders on the Mississippi with great severity, seizing, on April 26, 1777, according to the report of the French commissioners, eleven English vessels, with rich cargoes. The war for independence that the Americans were waging against England was now in its third year, and Galvez aided the Americans by secretly permitting Oliver Pollock to collect in New Orleans munitions of war, which were sent to Fort Pitt. Captain Willing, of Philadelphia, and some of his companions endeavored to make

the English in the Floridas join in the cause of the Americans, but were not successful, partly, it is said, because the people on the Mississippi and at Mobile feared the fate of the chiefs of the Revolution of 1768, and partly because these settlements were too sparse and too distant from the principal operations of the war. The Americans, however, were steadily progressing, and the militia of Virginia took possession of Kaskaskia, and of posts on the Mississippi, in 1778, and the county of Illinois was formed. In 1776 a county was formed by the State of North Carolina, which was bounded on the west by the Mississippi. That river, by the treaty between England and France, was to form the western limit of North Carolina. "By the proclamation of 1763," says Martin, "George III had forbidden any settlement of white people to the west of the mountains. Nevertheless, a considerable number of emigrants from North Carolina had removed to the banks of the Watauga, one of the branches of the Holston."

In January, 1778, Captain Willing returned to New Orleans and with about fifty men began operations against the English on the Mississippi. At Manchac he captured a small vessel, which was at anchor; then he went to Baton Rouge and to Natchez, destroying on the way everything he could find, burning houses and devastating plantations. The inhabitants were unable to resist the invaders and fled to the right bank of the river to seek shelter in the Spanish possessions. The people of Louisiana were highly indignant at Willing's cruel conduct, although they were in sympathy with the Ameri-

cans and Governor Galvez had furnished the latter with more than seventy thousand dollars and had permitted Oliver Pollock to act openly as their agent.

On April 20, 1778, Galvez permitted exportation of the produce of the province to any of the ports of France; permission had already been given with regard to any port of the United States. The Spanish government acted in the same liberal manner, and it was "directed that vessels from New Orleans should no longer be compelled to sail for one of the six ports to which they had been restricted, but might sail to any other port of the peninsula to which the commerce of the Indies was permitted. The exportation of furs and peltries from Louisiana was at the same time encouraged, by an exemption from duty during a period of ten years; but in the re-exportation from Spain the ordinary duty was to be paid."¹ In 1778, by royal schedules, Mercier's book, "*L'An Deux Mille Quatre Cent Quarante*," and Robertson's "*History of America*" were forbidden to be introduced or read in the colony, the former work because it had been condemned by the Inquisition, and the latter because the King said that he had "just reason" to prohibit its being read in his American dominions.

The ordinary alcaldes for 1779 were Piernas and Duverger, and, says Martin, "Toutant de Beauregard took his seat as a perpetual regidor and principal provincial alcalde, and Mazange succeeded Garic as clerk. Don Juan Dorotheo del Portege succeeded Odoardo in the office of auditor of war and assessor of government." In 1779 eighty-seven persons from the United States and

from the British provinces took an oath of allegiance to the King of Spain.

In 1778 several families were brought over at the King's expense from the Canary Islands. They formed settlements at Terre-aux-Bœufs under Marigny de Mandeville; at Galveztown, on the river Amite, under St. Maxent; and at Valenzuela, on Bayou Lafourche. The settlers received pecuniary assistance and rations for four years; they were supplied with cattle, fowls, and farming utensils, and a house was built for each family, and a church for each settlement. On January 15, 1779, Galvez mentions in a despatch the arrival of families from Malaga, with the exception of two who remained ill at Havana. In a despatch of the same date he announces the arrival of one hundred and eleven recruits from the Canary Islands to complete his battalion, and of three hundred and eighty-eight more, of whom more than half are married.² He adds that it is impossible that those people be soldiers and laborers at the same time, as the vacant lands are thirty leagues distant from the city, and if the men are kept as soldiers, humanity requires that the help given to them be continued, without its being ever returned to the royal treasury. It has, therefore, been thought better to consider them simply as colonists.

These four hundred and ninety-nine men were sent under the command of Bouligny to form, on Bayou Tèche, in the Attakapas country, a settlement, which was called New Iberia. They cultivated, at first, flax and hemp, but without success, and afterward attended solely to the raising of cattle in the vast prairies of the

Attakapas. Martin says that, besides grants of land, some heads of families received in rations, cattle, pecuniary, and other aid between three and four thousand dollars.

On January 15, 1779, Galvez says he has inspected a site of high lands near the junction of the rivers Amite and Iberville, not known until now by the people of the country, and discovered by chance by the English and the Americans who had fled to the possessions of the King of Spain.³ The latter formed there a village, which they named Galveztown, and they begged that the name be not changed, as they had found a refuge there during Galvez's administration, and they wished that the name be a token of their gratitude, and mark the date of the foundation of the village. The governor, in his despatch, expresses his regret at the death of Captain Louis Andry, who perished, some said, with the whole crew of his bark in the bay of Espiritu Santo, or, according to others, was killed by the Indians. Andry, says the governor, was the only man who could make plans with exactitude, and his death embarrasses him very much with regard to Galveztown, where several families from the Canary Islands were established. Galvez mentions also a terrific storm that had raged from October 7 to October 10, 1778.⁴ The sea rose as it had never been seen to do before, and the establishments at the Balize, Bayou St. John and Tigouyou were destroyed.

The people from the Canary Islands whom Galvez established in Louisiana are known as the Isleños or Islingues.⁵ The population of Galveztown in 1788 was

two hundred and fifty-six, according to De Bow's Review, but at present that town no longer exists. The Isleños inhabit principally St. Bernard parish, at Terre-aux-Bœufs, and on Bayou Bœuf, near Lake Borgne. Some of these people are educated and wealthy, but the great majority are poor and ignorant. A number of them live on l'Ile, between the Bois del Lacre and Lake Borgne. Few of these have houses; they reside principally in palmetto huts and lead a very primitive life. They all speak Spanish and the Creole patois, and the children are beginning to learn English.

In 1779 six Capuchin friars sent by the King arrived in Louisiana. Among them was Father Antonio de Sedella, better known as Père Antoine, who died in 1829, beloved by the people of New Orleans. The year 1779 was marked by the ravages of smallpox in and around the city, and principally by the declaration of war against England. France had recognized the independence of the United States, and was at war with Great Britain. The King of Spain offered his mediation, which was not accepted by England, and he ordered his ambassador to leave London without ceremony. Letters of marque were issued against the ships and subjects of Spain, and the latter country declared war against England on May 8, 1779. On July 8 the King authorized his subjects in America to take part in the war. Galvez, who had acted thus far as provisional governor, received his commission as governor and intendant "on account of the merit displayed in the provisional government of the province and granting the wishes of its inhabitants." ⁶

On hearing of the declaration of war, Galvez immediately resolved to attack the English possessions in the neighborhood, and called a council of war. It was the opinion of the Council that it would be better to adopt defensive measures until reinforcements could be obtained from Havana; but the intrepid young governor did not accept the advice of the Council, and, says Gayarré, "under the pretext of preparing for defense, he proceeded with indefatigable activity to prepare for carrying into execution his secret designs, which he intrusted only to Don Juan Antonio Gayarré, whom he appointed commissary of war for the projected expedition." ⁷ In the mean time a violent hurricane occurred on August 18, 1779, which caused great devastation in New Orleans and along the Mississippi. The vessels that had been prepared for the expedition were sunk in the river, with the exception of the frigate *El Volante*, which its commander, Luis Lorenzo de Terrazas, succeeded in saving.

The governor, however, was not discouraged; he renewed his preparations and devised an expedient, which Gayarré quotes from the supplement to the *Madrid Gazette* of August 29, 1780. He assembled in the public square the principal inhabitants of New Orleans, and showed them his commission as governor, which he had just received. He said that he could not take, before the cabildo, the oath to defend the province from the English until the inhabitants promised to help him. All present assented with enthusiasm. Galvez then took the oath of office, and began to collect a small fleet and an army. He succeeded in raising out of the river four of the ves-

sels that had been sunk by the hurricane, and he left New Orleans on August 27 with six hundred and seventy men, including one hundred and seventy veteran soldiers, three hundred and thirty recruits, twenty carbineers, sixty militiamen, and eighty free blacks as volunteers. The artillery was placed in the vessels and was commanded by Don Julian Alvarez; the second in command was Colonel Manuel Gonzales; next came Don Estevan Mirò. Lieutenant-Colonel Don Pedro Piernas received the command of New Orleans, and to Don Martin Navarro was intrusted the civil administration of the province. Don Gilberto Guillemard was a volunteer engineer.

Galvez received on the way reinforcements of six hundred men and one hundred and sixty Indians. The latter and the colored men marched in the front as scouts; they were followed by the regular troops and by the militia. On September 7 Fort Bute, at Manchac, was taken by assault, Gilbert Antoine de St. Maxent being the first to enter by an embrasure. Although his army had been considerably diminished on the march by sickness and fatigue, Galvez left Manchac on September 13, and advanced against Baton Rouge. He saw that he could not take the fort by storm, and resolved to invest it. The garrison consisted of four hundred British soldiers and one hundred militia, commanded by Colonel Dickson. Galvez opened fire on September 21, and after a brisk cannonade, which lasted two hours and a half, the English commander proposed a capitulation. The garrison were granted the honors of war and were made prisoners. It was agreed that Fort Panmure at Natchez, and two

posts, one on the Amite and the other on Thompson Creek, should capitulate also. Galvez left Carlos de Grandpré in command at Baton Rouge, and returned with his army to New Orleans. His campaign had been conducted with great daring and ability and was considered glorious.

The supplement to the *Madrid Gazette*, January 14, 1780, quoted by Gayarré, praises highly the Louisiana militia, and adds that the Acadians were most eager to attack the English, "remembering their cruelties in the war, which obliged them to abandon their houses." The free men of color behaved also with great courage. The Spanish gunboats captured several English vessels in the lakes and in the Mississippi, and Vincent Rieux, a native of New Orleans, commander of a sloop of war, greatly distinguished himself. He heard that an English bark was expected at Manchac, and devised a plan to capture it. He formed intrenchments with trees, and concealed his men. As soon as the English were near enough, Rieux and his men fired upon them and uttered loud shouts. The English, thinking that a large force was opposed to them, ran below deck, and Rieux and his thirteen men, all Creoles, or natives of Louisiana, made prisoners about seventy soldiers and sailors. On his return to New Orleans, Galvez had only fifty soldiers to garrison the city, as he had been compelled to leave some of his men to occupy the posts conquered from the English. New Orleans was full of friendly Indians and of English prisoners freed on parole, but no disturbances took place. Galvez's energy imposed respect upon all, and he was highly admired and greatly beloved. The

King rewarded his exploits by appointing him a brigadier-general.

The campaign of Galvez against Baton Rouge inspired Julien Poydras, who wrote in French a short epic poem on the heroic deeds of the governor. This work, published in New Orleans in 1779, is interesting as being the first contribution to the French literature of Louisiana, which was destined to be very creditable.

Julien Poydras was born at Nantes, in Brittany, about 1740. He served in the navy, and was made a prisoner by the English in 1760 and taken to England. He managed to escape after three years, and went to Santo Domingo, hidden in a merchant vessel bound for the West Indies. From Santo Domingo he passed over to Louisiana, where he arrived, it is thought, in 1768, the year of the celebrated Revolution against Spain. It must have been very sad to Julien Poydras to reach Louisiana only to see her become a Spanish province; but to a man of energy and enterprise a wide field was open in a new country admirably situated for commerce and with a soil created by the sediment which the noblest river in the world had been depositing for centuries. Poydras remained but one year in New Orleans, for he had understood what profit could be derived from a direct trade with the country parishes. He bought some merchandise and set out on foot from New Orleans. He was received everywhere with unbounded hospitality, and in a short time accumulated a large sum of money. He finally bought a plantation at Pointe Coupée, and settled there. He built later a store and cotton-gins, and de-

rived great profits therefrom. He was a remarkable man and appears to have been created for the requirements of his epoch, and to have known perfectly how to adapt himself to circumstances. He was exceedingly sober and frugal, very gentle in his disposition, and had the sympathies of all who knew him. He traded with all the posts in the province, and even with Nacogdoches. He provided the posts with European merchandise, and received in exchange indigo, cotton, salt meat, buffalo skins, bear's grease, and flour. Two or three times a year Poydras went to New Orleans, and it is curious to note how he traveled. The poor young peddler who, in 1769, went from house to house with his pack, had his own boat twenty years later, in which he leisurely descended the Mississippi. His craft, it is true, was a flatboat covered with a tent, but he had six oarsmen, a cook, and a servant, and lived in regal fashion, stopping on his way at the plantations of his friends, and being received everywhere most cordially. When he went to the Avoyelles, where he had large herds of cattle, he crossed the impetuous Atchafalaya River on a raft, holding by the bridle his horse, which swam after him.

Julien Poydras was very pious and led a noble life. Although wealthy, he lived in a simple and unostentatious manner. His house was open to all who knocked at his door, and he gave hospitality to Louis-Philippe, in 1798, at Pointe Coupée, and is said to have furnished the exiled prince with money to continue his journey. Having passed, by many years, the allotted threescore and ten, Julien Poydras was prepared to take his de-

parture from this world. In the beginning of June, 1824, he took to his bed, for his strength had abandoned him. Without any real illness, his life was passing away, as a flame in a lamp flickers and dies out when there is no longer any oil to feed the wick. Although extremely weak, Poydras was always desirous of standing up, "for," said he, "a man on his feet never dies." His friends would hold him up for a few minutes each day, and a smile was on his lips when he died. He bequeathed \$40,000 to the Charity Hospital in New Orleans, was the founder of Poydras Asylum in the same city, and gave \$30,000 to establish a school for indigent orphans in Pointe Coupée. To the parishes of West Baton Rouge and Pointe Coupée he left \$30,000 each for a noble and poetic purpose. Each year the interest of the money was to be given to the young girls who were married during the year. He left the bulk of his fortune to one of his nephews, and in his will he ordered that twenty-five years after his death all his slaves should be set free. These directions, however, were unheeded. Julien Poydras was on intimate terms with Governor Claiborne and General Wilkinson, and took a great interest in public affairs. He was president of the first Legislative Council of the Territory of Orleans, delegate to Congress from 1809 to 1812, president of the Constitutional Convention of 1812, and president of the State Senate from 1812 to 1813, and again from 1820 to 1821.

Poydras's work has no great literary merit, but it is interesting as a historical document. The title of it is "*La Prise du Morne du Bâton Rouge par Monseigneur*

de Galvez, Chevalier pensionné de l'Ordre Royal distingué de Charles Trois, Brigadier des Armées de Sa Majesté, Intendant, Inspecteur et Gouverneur Général de la Province de la Louisiane, etc. A la Nouvelle Orléans, chez Antoine Boudousquié, Imprimeur du Roi et du Cabildo. M.DCC.LXXIX." The author evidently imitated Boileau's celebrated epistle on the crossing of the Rhine by the cavalry of Louis XIV. In Poydras's poem the Mississippi is awakened by a thunderbolt. He asks what mortal or what god has come to disturb the sweet peace of his happy shores, where dwell his cherished planters. He sends the nymph Scæsarís to find out who is the rash being that is invading his realm. The nymph goes into the camp, disguised as a mortal, and sees the hero. She returns to the god Mississippi, and describes the army and relates the story of the siege and capture of Baton Rouge. She speaks of the proud planters, intrepid militia, who, with the same skilful hands that traced furrows, elevate bastions and parapets with a like ardor. She says the intrepid Galvez encourages all, and that, in spite of their gallant resistance, the English are obliged to surrender. The governor then addresses words of praise to his army, which replies with great acclamation. The narrative of Scæsarís to the river-god ends by a prophecy of what his banks will be under the rule of the victors. The Mississippi says:

I shall tell my waters to moderate their course,
And to fertilize the place of his abode,
By flowery paths let him attain glory,
Let his name be written in the Temple of Memory.

Sing, nymphs, tritons, swell your bagpipes.
Everything breathes joy in the empire of waters.
I wish in his honor to institute a feast
That will consecrate forever his new conquest.

After the capture in 1779 of Baton Rouge, called by the English New Richmond, Galvez left New Orleans in January, 1780, to undertake the conquest of Mobile. "A report shows that the garrison of Mobile, all told, consisted of two hundred and seventy-nine men, besides Mr. Gordon, the minister, who was quite active, Commissary Thomas Strother, and the surgeon's mate, probably Dr. Grant. There were seventeen negroes as officers' servants, and thirty-five more were used in one way or another, whose owners afterward claimed compensation from the Crown. There were represented the engineers, artillery, 4th battalion of the 60th Foot, sixteen of the United Provincial Corps of Pennsylvania, and Maryland Loyalists, fifty-two volunteers from the inhabitants (of whom fifteen deserted), and twenty-one artificers. Among the volunteers are included Captain Walker's Provincial Dragoons and Captain Rees's militia in three canoes, who arrived at a critical time." ⁸

Galvez sailed from the Balize on February 5, 1780, with an army of two thousand men—regulars, militia, and a few companies of free men of color. In spite of a terrific storm, which greatly hampered and delayed him, he landed his army on the eastern point of Mobile River. General Campbell, the English commander at Pensacola, might have destroyed the Spanish army had he attacked it with a large force in its disorganized condition. Gal-

vez understood this so well that he who was generally so bold thought of retreating to New Orleans by land. Campbell, however, did not appear, and Galvez erected six batteries and began to cannonade Fort Charlotte, which was commanded by Captain Durnford. The following correspondence is interesting in that it shows the chivalric character of Galvez, Durnford's manliness, and Campbell's indecision. The first letter is written in French, and the others in English.⁹

CHOCTAW POINT, March 1, 1780.

SIR: If I had fewer than two thousand men under my command, and if you had more than one hundred soldiers and a few sailors, I would not ask you to surrender, but the great inequality of forces compels us—you to yield immediately, or I to make you bear all the extremities of war if a useless and uncalled-for resistance irritates the patience of my troops, too much annoyed by some accidents. To-day I am ready to grant you a regular capitulation and in accordance with circumstances; to-morrow perhaps nothing will be left to you but the sterile repentance of not having accepted my proposition in favor of the unfortunates who are under your command.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your very humble and very obedient servant,
B. DE GALVEZ.

TO CAPTAIN DURNFORD,
Fort Charlotte, Mobile.

FORT CHARLOTTE, MOBILE, 1 March, 1780.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's summons to surrender immediately the Fort to your Excellency's superior forces.

The differences of number, I am convinced, are greatly in your

favor, sir, but mine are much beyond your Excellency's conception, and was I to give up this Fort on your demand I should be regarded as a traitor to my king and country. My love for both, and my own honor, direct my heart to refuse surrendering this Fort until I am under conviction that resistance is in vain. The generosity of your Excellency's mind is well known to my brother officers and soldiers, and should it be my misfortune to be added to their number (*sic*), a heart full of generosity and valor will ever consider brave men fighting for their country as objects of esteem and not revenge.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

ELIAS DURNFORD.

GOV. D. B. DE GALVEZ.

MOBILE, 2d March, 1780.

SIR: Soon after I sent Land Express a flag was perceived in the wood, and I sent an officer to receive it at some distance. This, as I expected, was a summons to surrender to Don Bernardo de Galvez' superior forces—a copy of which you have inclosed with my answer thereto. The Flag was brought in Person by an old acquaintance, Colonel Bolyny [Bouligny], who sent me a polite card, wishing for the pleasure of an interview if possible, and Profession of Friendship, although we were National enemies: on which I sent Mr. Barde to conduct him into the Fort with the customary ceremony, where he dined and continued until nearly five o'clock, drinking a cheerful Glass to the healths of our King and Friends.

During our conversation I found that the Report of the Shipwreck was true; he acknowledged that they had undergone great hardships, but would not allow to have lost any men, and informed me that they were about 2500 men, but by trusty Indians who were sent by me into the camp in the morning, I learned that a great number were negroes and mulattoes, and they had landed no cannon. Bolyny confirmed that we had cut the cable and just hit the Row Galley, but we are certain that three nine-pounder shot hit her, and as she is gone off I suspect she is

well mauled, for yesterday morning she was seen opposite the Choctaws on a heal (*sic*), and I suppose is gone to Dog River to repair the damage received from our shot. As soon as Colonel Bolyny left me I drew up my Garrison in the square, read to them Don Galvez' summons, and told them that if any man among them was afraid to stand by me, that I should open the gate and he should freely pass. This had the desired effect, and not a man moved. I then read to them my answer to the summons, on which they all joined in three cheers and then went to our necessary work like good men.

I really believe that their (the enemy's) force is greatly magnified.

I am,

ELIAS DURNFORD.

GENERAL CAMPBELL: Your great good news hath just arrived. I thank you, dear Sir, for the consolation it affords me. I need not say that I will defend the Fort to the last extremity. The vessels I can see from this are in the mouth of the East Pass, about two miles distant from the Fort. And the *Galvez* Brig is one and Pickler's *Florida* the other. Near to the Dog River are five ships or Pollacas, and I am informed that three or four are in Dog River, besides the Row Galley.

I am, etc.,

ELIAS DURNFORD.

4 o'clock afternoon.

FORT CHARLOTTE, MOBILE,

14th March, 1780.

GEN. CAMPBELL:

Sir: It is my misfortune to inform you that this morning my small but brave garrison marched down the breach, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war to General Bernardo de Galvez' superior arms. I write for your information, and request you will do me the favor to inform Mrs. Durnford that I am in good health, and that she ought to be under no uneasiness at my

fate. When it is in my power to send you the capitulation and state preceding it for a few days, will do it; in the mean time I assure you, sir, that no man in the garrison hath stained the lustre of the British arms.

The number by return of killed, wounded and prisoners, 304.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

ELIAS DURNFORD.

Captain Durnford's "great good news" was probably the fact that Campbell had announced to him that he had sent, on March 5, to relieve Mobile the Sixtieth Regiment, and the next day the remainder of the Waldeck Regiment. Campbell himself set out from Pensacola with a force of five hundred and twenty-two men, but, as we have seen by Durnford's letter quoted above, Fort Charlotte had capitulated on March 14, 1780. Galvez granted his gallant opponent the honors of war, and agreed, says Mr. Hamilton, "to take his prisoners to a British port and land them, upon their promise not to serve against Spain or her allies for eighteen months." It was at Fort Charlotte that Willing, who had so ruthlessly devastated the Mississippi coast from Baton Rouge to Natchez, had been kept a prisoner by the English until exchanged in 1779.¹⁰

Galvez was made a major-general for his achievements at Mobile, and he resolved to drive the English entirely out of the country adjoining the province of Louisiana by making the conquest of Pensacola. The young and intrepid governor of Louisiana knew that the force under his command was insufficient for the capture of Pensacola, and he sent a messenger to Havana to ask for a

reinforcement. As the captain-general did not immediately comply with his request, he went to Havana himself and obtained troops, artillery, and ammunition. He sailed for Pensacola on October 16, 1780, but met with a storm, which dispersed his transports and compelled him to return to Havana on November 17. We shall follow here Galvez's Diary of the expedition, dated Pensacola, May 12, 1781.¹¹

On his returning to Havana, November 17, Galvez felt very anxious about the fate of his transports, as he did not know where they were. It appears that after being dispersed by the storm some went to Campeachy, some to the Mississippi, and some to other parts, and one was supposed to have perished. As soon as he reached Havana the general asked again that troops and provisions be sent to Mobile, as the fort was in want of both and was threatened with an attack. Yielding to his entreaties, the council of generals ordered that ships be put in order to transport five hundred men and some provisions, and on December 6, 1780, the convoy sailed under the command of Don Joseph de Rada. It reached the mouth of the Mobile after a few days, but the captain did not wish to enter the bay, because he perceived, as he said, some change in the channel, and he sailed directly for the Balize on the river Mississippi, where he left the convoy and returned to Havana.

This circumstance, and the fact that two English frigates entered Mobile Bay five days later, induced Galvez, as it was not possible to renew the expedition from Havana, to urge that troops be given him to reinforce the gar-

risons of Louisiana and Mobile, and from these, if a favorable opportunity presented itself, to attack Pensacola or to preserve more securely the recent conquests. The council of generals approved this idea, and ordered that thirteen hundred and fifteen men be given to Galvez, and that sufficient transports be furnished him. The convoy was to be protected by the man-of-war *San Ramon*, commanded by Don Joseph Calbo de Irazabal, two frigates, a *chambequin*, and a packet-boat, all under the command of Galvez. The instructions given to Don Joseph Calbo were, that he should execute the orders given to him by Don Bernardo de Galvez relative to the conquest of Pensacola.

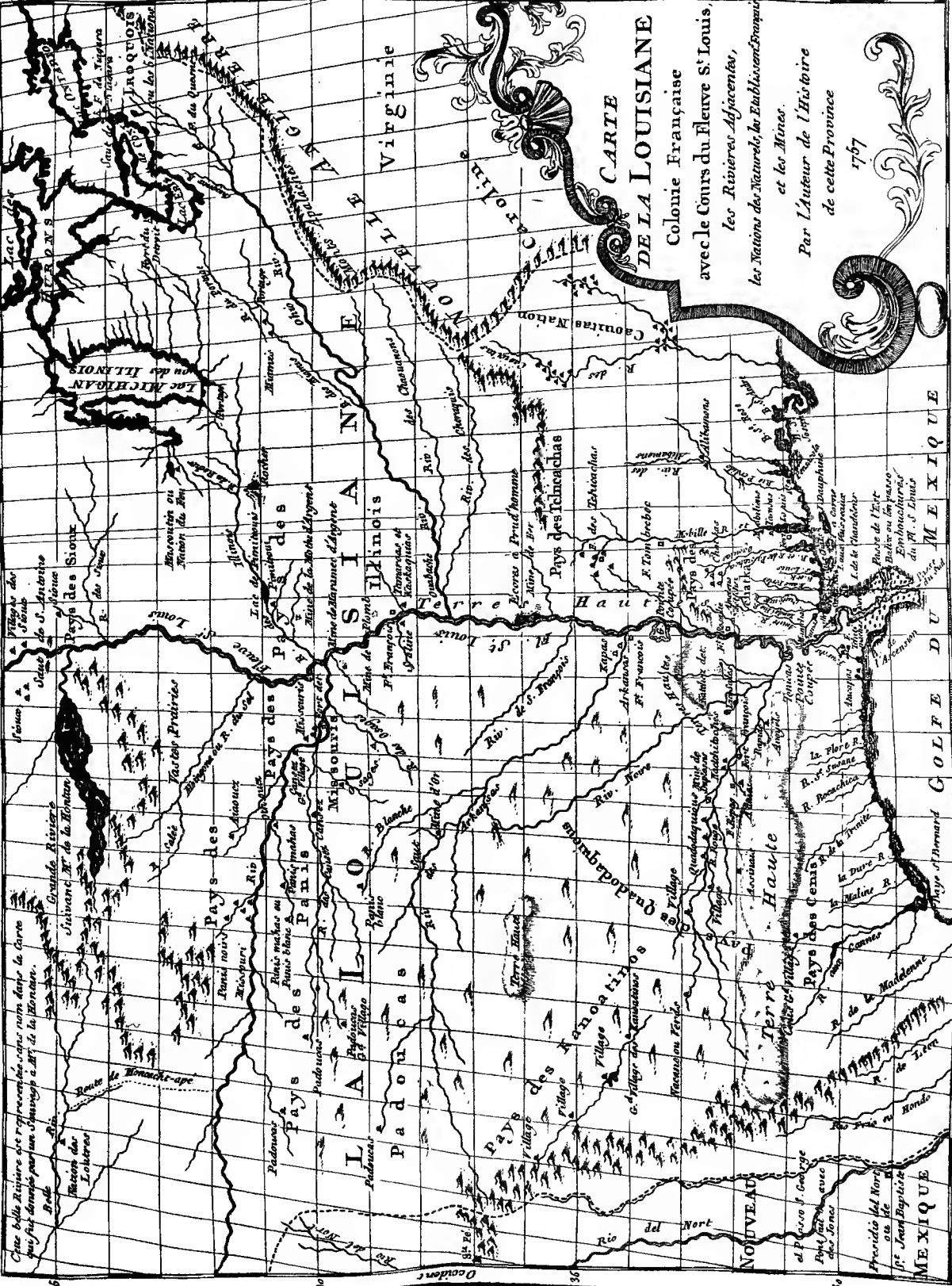
The young general embarked on February 13, 1781, although he was not in good health; the troops on the 14th, and the convoy sailed from Havana on February 28. Galvez sent Captain Maximiliano Maxent in a schooner to New Orleans, to order the troops which had been left in the Mississippi by Don Joseph Rada, and those which had sought shelter from the storm, to meet the fleet, which was on the way to Pensacola. On March 1, Don Miguel de Herrera was sent to Mobile with letters for Don Joseph Ezpeleta, informing him that the fleet was to touch the eastern coast of the island of St. Rosa, and ordering Ezpeleta to advance by land to join his troops to those of Galvez.

On March 4 the general called together the officers of the war-ships, and told them that his plan was to land his troops on the island of St. Rosa and to attack the battery that the enemy had on Point Sigüenza, in order

MAP OF LOUISIANA

French Colony, showing the course of the Mississippi, then known as the St. Louis River, and its tributaries, the Indian tribes, the French establishments, and the mines. Reproduced from Le Page du Pratz: "Histoire de la Louisiane," edition of 1757.

Chez les Nations les représentations sont dans la Carte
 qui fut dressée par un Sauvage à M^r de la Fontaine.
 Bada



CARTE
DE LA LOUISIANE
 Colonie Française
 avec le Cours du Fleuve St. Louis.
 les Nations des Natchez, les Etablissements Français
 et les Mines.
 Par l'Auteur de l'Histoire
 de cette Province
 1757

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to facilitate the entrance of the ships into the port, without their running the risk of passing between cross fires, and to await there the reinforcements from Louisiana and from Mobile. All the naval officers approved the plan, and some were even anxious to obtain the glory of being the first to enter the channel. On March 5, at six o'clock in the evening, the brig *Galveztown*, which had sailed from Havana on March 2, joined the squadron. She was commanded, says Martin, by Rousseau, and had lately arrived from New Orleans. It is a strange fact that in his Diary Galvez does not mention Rousseau, who, with his brig *Galveztown*, played such an important part in the conquest of Pensacola.

On March 9, at six o'clock in the morning, land was seen, and it was soon found to be the island of St. Rosa; at eight o'clock the firing of cannon from Pensacola was heard. At two o'clock the general ordered that the troops be held in readiness to debark at night, and that each soldier take three days' rations, the grenadiers and cazadores being, of course, the first to debark. They were to enter barges when two lanterns should be placed on the stern of the *San Ramon*. The convoy was at anchor a cannon-shot from land, and three leagues to windward from the mouth of the port. At eight o'clock at night the signal was given for the barges; and, with the general at their head, the grenadiers and cazadores landed with their colonel, Don Francisco Longoria. Galvez afterward returned on board the *San Ramon* to see to the landing of the remainder of the troops, and at three o'clock in the morning of March 10, all the troops were marching

in a column on the shore of the island of St. Rosa facing the sea.¹²

At half-past five in the morning the grenadiers and cazadores reached Point Sigüenza, but found no fort, only three dismounted guns and a battery of fascines half destroyed, which the enemy, with little knowledge of its use, had abandoned. At that time two barges, containing seven men, were captured by the cazadores, and the prisoners declared that the town was well supplied with men and provisions, and that reinforcements from Jamaica were expected from day to day. Fort Barrancas, opposite Point Sigüenza and distant about five hundred toises, and two English frigates began to fire briskly on the troops, but without doing them any harm, as they were protected by several hillocks. Earthworks, however, were erected for more security.

On March 10, at eleven o'clock in the morning, the convoy changed anchorage to a point near the port, and in the evening the general examined the coast of the island facing the town, for the purpose of erecting a battery that would defend his troops from the English frigates, drive the latter away, and protect the entrance of the convoy. He ordered, accordingly, that four guns and one hundred and fifty tents be landed. On March 11, before daybreak, the commander of the fleet sent men to sound the bar in the channel, and on the same day a battery of two twenty-four-pounders was erected in front of Fort Barrancas. It began firing at one of the English frigates at half-past three in the afternoon. At the same hour the fleet sailed to enter the port, and the general,

perceiving this, embarked immediately on the *San Ramon* to be present at this action and share the risk of the men. Commodore Joseph Calbo, however, insisted so strenuously that Galvez should return to land, that the latter consented to leave the ship. Shortly afterward the general perceived that the *San Ramon* was turning round and returning with the other ships to the place where they had anchored last. This retrograde movement was due to the fact that, on endeavoring to cross the bar, the commodore's ship had run aground. Don Joseph Calbo spent the whole night in lightening the *San Ramon* to prepare her to enter the channel, although the weather was not propitious for such an undertaking.

On the twelfth the weather continued unfavorable, and Galvez feared that if there was a storm the ships could not be kept in a place where there was no haven, and that if they departed there would be no provisions for the camp. He resolved, therefore, to do everything possible to prevent such an accident. At eight o'clock in the morning he went to inspect some works which he had ordered to be erected at the extremity of Point Sigüenza, and at two he went on board the *San Ramon* to order that the frigates cross the bar at the head of the convoy, and that the men-of-war should follow, so that if the *San Ramon* ran aground the other ships should not be detained as they had been the evening before. But perceiving some reluctance on the part of the naval officers to follow his plan, the general returned to land. He wrote then to Don Joseph Calbo that it was absolutely necessary that the fleet should enter the port, as in case of a storm, which was

a frequent thing on this coast, the ships would be forced to disperse and to abandon the army. He added that the commodore could count already on a battery of six twenty-four-pounders which he had erected at a point opposite the enemy's battery.

On the thirteenth the landing of provisions and ammunition continued; and on the same day the general received the reply of the commander of the fleet, who said that, after hearing the opinion of the naval officers, he found it very unwise to risk his ships, when he lacked the necessary knowledge as to the depth and direction of the channel, had no pilots, and understood that the enemy could attack the ships in front and rear without their being able to reply effectively. At three o'clock in the afternoon the general sent his aide-de-camp, Don Estevan Mirò, to Mobile, with orders for Colonel Joseph Ezpeleta with regard to the junction of the latter's troops with those of Galvez. On the fourteenth the general ordered the captain of the brig *Galveztown* to sound, in the night, the interior of the port and ascertain its depth. On the fifteenth provisions were landed with great difficulty on account of the rough sea, and two eight-pounders were placed in position.

On the sixteenth Lieutenant Don Juan Riano arrived in a schooner from Mobile, with letters from Colonel Ezpeleta, who said he was about to march with nine hundred men to the Perdido River, five miles from Pensacola, and that he would need barges to cross the river. Commodore Calbo wrote to Galvez that he had ordered armed barges to go to the Perdido River with ten days'

provisions, and that he would send the *Pio*, which was the lightest ship, to go as near the shore as possible, to protect Ezpeleta and provide him with guns and provisions if he needed them. Calbo advised the general to wait for a dark night for the crossing of Ezpeleta's troops, but added that in this matter Galvez might do as he thought best. The command of the barges was given to Captain Andres Valderrama and First Lieutenant Antonio Estrada. The general replied on the same day to the commodore's letter, and approved what he had done.

On the seventeenth, at eleven in the morning, Galvez ordered Riano to place himself with his schooner at the entrance of the port, accompanied by the brig *Galvestown* and two gunboats. At four o'clock the alferaz Don Miguel Herrera arrived with letters from Colonel Ezpeleta, announcing that he was on his way to the Perdido River. The general, understanding that there was much delay in crossing the bar, and fearing that, in case of a storm, the convoy would be obliged to set sail in order not to be wrecked on the coast, and that the army would be left on the island without means of subsistence, resolved to be the first to force entrance into the port, firmly believing that this last recourse would stimulate the others and make them follow. In fact, at half-past two in the afternoon of March 18 he embarked in a canoe to go on board the brig *Galvestown*, which was at anchor at the entrance of the port of Pensacola. He ordered a pendant to be displayed and a salute to be fired, and the *Galvestown* sailed, followed by Riano's schooner and two

gunboats, the only naval force that was directly under Galvez's command. Fort Barrancas fired as rapidly as was possible, especially at the *Galveztown*, as it was evident by the banner displayed that the general was on board. The valiant little fleet, however, sustained no damage, except in the rigging and sails, which were pierced with balls, and entered the port amid the extraordinary acclamations and continuous "Vivas!" of the army, which manifested to the general its joy and its devotion to him.

On seeing the success of Galvez, the squadron resolved to cross the bar on the following day, with the exception of the *San Ramon*, which was already ballasted. On the nineteenth, at two o'clock in the afternoon, the convoy set sail, preceded by the two frigates, and in an hour all the ships had entered the harbor in the midst of an extraordinary fire from Fort Red Cliffs in the Barrancas. Several ships were injured, but not a man was killed or wounded. Galvez was in a boat among the ships, to give them whatever help they might need. At five o'clock he endeavored to go with his aides, in a boat, to see Ezpeleta and give him his instructions in person. He wished to prove that it was as easy to leave the port as to enter it; but contrary winds and currents obliged him to return to his camp at eleven o'clock at night.

In the morning of the twentieth Galvez wrote a letter to Campbell, in which he said that the English at Havana in 1762 intimated that the Spaniards would be treated with the greatest rigor if any of the ships and buildings of

the King, as well as those of any private individual, were damaged or destroyed. He therefore made the same intimation, in the same terms, to General Campbell and whom it might concern.

In the evening Galvez went in a boat to reconnoiter the beach, in order to choose a place to debark the troops that were to attack the town. At eight o'clock at night the enemy set fire to a guard-house on the beach which the general had reconnoitered, and the latter ordered Riano's schooner and the launch of Rousseau's *Galvestown* to approach the land and fire with grape-shot at any enemy who might be there.

On the twenty-first, at a very early hour, an officer came from Pensacola with a letter from General Campbell. The British commander said that the threats of an enemy are considered only as stratagems of war. He trusted that in his defense of Pensacola he should do nothing contrary to the laws and customs of war, but that he was under obligations to Galvez for his frank intimation. He assured him, however, that his conduct would depend more upon the Spanish general's reply to the propositions that Governor Chester would make the next day about the prisoners, and upon his own about the city, than upon threats.

At noon an aide-de-camp of General Campbell arrived with letters from the latter and from Governor Chester. He was accompanied by Colonel Dickson, who had been made prisoner at Baton Rouge in 1779, and who resided in Pensacola under parole. General Campbell's letter was as follows: ¹³

Humanity requiring that innocent persons should be protected, as much as possible, from the cruelties and devastations of war, and it being evident that the garrison at Pensacola cannot defend itself without the destruction of the city, and consequently with the total ruin of a great number of inhabitants; and being desirous of preserving the city and the garrison to the victor, with the hope that the palm of victory will belong to the troops which I have the honor to command, I have abandoned the garrison of Pensacola; but knowing that the preservation of the city and its edifices depends upon your Excellency and me, or, in other words, that it is in our power to destroy it or not, I propose that the town and its buildings be preserved intact and without wilful damage from either side, during the siege of the redoubt of the marine and Fort George, where I intend to contend for the preservation of West Florida to the British Crown, under the following stipulations:

That neither the town nor the buildings of Pensacola shall be occupied or used, by either side, for attack or defense, or for any other advantage, but that the town shall be a refuge for the sick, the women and children, who shall be able to remain in it without any harm on the part of the English, the Spanish troops, or their allies.

But in case my proposition be not accepted by your Excellency, and that any part of the town be occupied by the troops under your command, it shall then be my duty to prevent it from being a refuge by destroying it, and if I should be forced to such a cruel resolution, your Excellency alone shall be responsible to God and men for the calamities and misfortunes which would accompany such a deed. But the knowledge that we have of your conduct and sentiments forbids the horror of such thoughts, and makes me believe that you will approve my propositions.

Governor Galvez answered that as his health did not allow him to reply on the same day to General Campbell's

letter, he had requested Lieutenant-Colonel Dickson to transmit his opinion, which he would communicate in writing the next day.

Dickson had brought to Galvez two letters from Governor Chester. In the first the governor offered to liberate the Spanish prisoners on parole, as there were no suitable quarters in the town for them, provided the Spanish general would promise that they should not serve during the war, in any capacity, against the British or their allies, unless exchanged. In his second letter Governor Chester said that, "as the protection and safety of women and children against the calamities of war had always been considered by all civilized nations as their first object," he took the liberty of expressing the hope, based on Galvez's generous and humane sentiments, that the latter would give orders that no harm be done these persons.

The governor of Louisiana acknowledged the receipt of Governor Chester's letters, and postponed his written answer to the next day. He told Colonel Dickson what he thought of the propositions of Campbell and Chester, and instructed him to communicate to them his decision. At three o'clock he ordered the grenadiers who were posted on the island on the side facing the city to be drawn up in line of battle, and the troops on the opposite side of the island to place themselves on an elevation so as to be visible, in order that Colonel Dickson might inform General Campbell, if he wished, of the kind and number of his troops. He embarked afterward with Dickson in a small boat, and went on board the *Santa Clara* to see

Campbell's aide-de-camp. Later in the day he permitted the latter and Dickson to return to Pensacola.

At night several houses were seen burning near Fort Barrancas, a thing that displeased Galvez greatly, as, to prevent any conflagration, he had informed General Campbell of his intentions, as will be seen in his letters. On March 22, in the morning, Ezpeleta appeared on the mainland opposite the island, and Galvez crossed over with five hundred men, including the grenadiers, to reinforce him and to see that his troops were rested. The general returned to the island after sending to Pensacola the following letter to Campbell:

At the very time when we were making to each other the same propositions which were directed toward the protection of the property and farms of the people of Pensacola,—at the very time, I say, in my very presence, the insult was done of burning the houses which are in front of my camp, on the other side of the bay. This deed indicates the bad faith in which you act and you write, and the treatment of the people of Mobile, who were in great part victims of horrible cruelties projected by your Excellency: all this proves that your expressions are not sincere; that humanity is a word which, although repeated on paper, is unknown to the heart; that your intentions are to gain time to complete the destruction of West Florida; and, as I am ashamed at my own credulity and indignant at the attempt to deceive me, I neither can nor will listen to any other proposition but that to surrender, assuring your Excellency that, as it will not be my fault, I shall see Pensacola burn with the same indifference as I would see its cruel incendiaries perish in its ashes.

This severe and energetic letter was accompanied by one to Governor Chester, in which Galvez said that, since the

day before, circumstances had changed so much that he neither could nor should accept the propositions concerning the prisoners and the families of Pensacola. If the governor was interested in the latter, he might deal with General Campbell, as everything depended on the good or bad conduct of that officer. Galvez also sent to Governor Chester a copy of his letter to General Campbell.

In the evening of the twenty-second the packet-boat *Pio* returned from its expedition to Perdido River, where it had been sent to protect the barges in which Colonel Ezpeleta's troops were to cross the river. The ship was fired upon from Fort Barrancas, but suffered no injury.

At eight o'clock at night Galvez received General Campbell's answer to his fiery letter:

MY DEAR SIR: The haughty tone of your Excellency's letter, far from producing its evident intention of intimidating, has made me more resolute than ever to oppose the ambitious undertaking which Spain has placed under your command. I shall destroy as much as possible, and in this I shall only be fulfilling my duty towards my King and my country, a motive much more potent for me than the fear of your displeasure.

The officer in command of Fort Barrancas Coloradas has received orders to defend that post to the last extremity. If he has deprived the enemy which is attacking us of any shelter or advantageous post for his attack, he has done his duty, so much the more that in this he has done no injury to women, children, or private property.

I repeat to your Excellency that if he makes use of the town of Pensacola for his attacks on Fort George, or to shelter his troops, I am resolute to execute what I have communicated to him.

With regard to the reflexions which concern me more directly,

as I do not believe having merited them, I despise them. May God preserve your Excellency many years.

Your most obedient servant,

JOHN CAMPBELL.

QUARTERS OF PENSACOLA, March 22, 1781.

With this letter ended the correspondence between Galvez and the English officers. There was now nothing to be done on both sides but to fight valiantly.

During the night of March 22 the army slept on the coast of the island facing the town, so as to be ready to meet immediately the troops from Mobile. At four o'clock in the afternoon of March 23 the convoy from New Orleans arrived. It consisted of sixteen ships, carrying fourteen hundred men, several guns, and ammunition. On the twenty-fourth the general ordered that all the troops camping on St. Rosa Island be transported to the mainland, to begin the siege of Fort George and other posts. The order was executed in the afternoon, except that two hundred men remained on the island.

On the twenty-fifth some Indians in ambush surprised a few soldiers who had advanced beyond the outposts, and several were killed or wounded. The Indians mutilated the bodies according to their cruel custom. At noon Colonel Dickson and other English prisoners who resided in Pensacola on parole arrived in the camp. On the twenty-sixth, after prayer, the army set out, and marched laboriously through impenetrable woods a distance of five leagues. In the darkness two detachments that were advancing by different roads mistook each other for enemies and fired, killing several men and wounding others.

On the twenty-seventh the general established his camp in a place that seemed favorable, and resolved to intrench it after a party of Indians had attacked suddenly some soldiers at their camp-fires. Guns were debarked in order to fire at the Indians with grape-shot. On the twenty-eighth, while the general had agreed upon stipulations concerning Pensacola, three Spanish sailors who had escaped from the town arrived and reported that they and the other prisoners had been badly treated by the English. Disgusted at this, the general dismissed Governor Chester's envoy and refused all the propositions of the latter. At three o'clock in the afternoon about four hundred Indians attacked the camp, but the militia from New Orleans, both white and colored, marched against them and repelled them. At midnight, however, they returned and killed several men.

On the twenty-ninth a barge was sent to Mobile to order that the ships which were there should sail immediately. The guns were carried on board the vessels to a place nearer Pensacola, and on March 30 the grenadiers, cazadores, and light troops, to the number of eleven hundred, with Galvez at their head, reached a place within cannon-shot of Pensacola, and there the camp was set. Colonel Ezpeleta received orders to join Galvez, and at one o'clock in the afternoon he arrived at the new camp. There the Spaniards were attacked by the Indians and by troops from Fort George, and Colonel Ezpeleta drew up the army in line of battle. Galvez, who had gone on board one of the ships to provide for a hospital and to order the fleet to come as near the shore as possible,

returned while Ezpeleta was preparing to resist the attack. Seeing that he had to deal with an enemy who never abandoned the woods, he attacked them there and repelled both the Indians and the English. In this engagement the colonel of the Regiment of the King, Don Luis Pebolo, was killed.

On March 31 a deserter from the Maryland Regiment announced that General Campbell had in the fort one hundred men of the regular troops, three hundred sailors, many armed negroes, and a large number of Indians camping under the protection of Fort George. For several days in April the siege continued without marked effect, and the brig *Galveztown* was employed on several occasions in capturing English schooners. On April 12 Galvez was wounded by a ball that passed through one finger of his left hand and grazed his abdomen. The command of the army devolved temporarily upon Brigadier-General Ezpeleta. On the fourteenth a terrible tempest of rain, wind, and thunder took place. The ammunition of the soldiers was rendered useless, and they were ordered, if attacked, to use their bayonets. Most of the tents were blown down, including the hospital, and many wounded men died. The soldiers feared that their general would succumb also. On April 18 two vessels arrived from Havana with provisions, and the general heard the agreeable news that his father, the President of Guatemala, had driven the English from the Castle of Nicaragua. To celebrate this event, Galvez ordered that the biggest guns on land and at sea fire a triple volley.

On the nineteenth the approach of a fleet was an-

nounced, and the general feared it was the reinforcements which the English were expecting from Jamaica. It turned out to be, however, a Spanish fleet commanded by Don Joseph Solano and M. Monteill, carrying sixteen hundred soldiers under the orders of the mariscal de campo, Don Juan Manuel de Cagigal. On the twenty-first the French cutter *Serpent* arrived, having on board the mariscal de campo and Don Francisco Saavedra. On the twenty-second arrived two companies of French chasseurs and batteries of artillery. The general then ordered that the army be formed in four brigades, commanded respectively by General Geronimo Giron, Colonel Manuel de Pineda, Don Francisco Longoria, Ship-captain Don Felipe Lopez Carrizosa, and the French division by Ship-captain M. de Boiderout.

On April 24 repeated volleys were fired by the English, and the Spaniards heard the next day that it was to celebrate a victory of Lord Cornwallis over the Americans. From April 24 to May 8 the Spaniards continued their attacks on Fort George, erecting trenches and repelling the sallies of the English, who fought valiantly. On May 8, in the morning, one of the Spanish shells set fire to the powder-magazine, which exploded, killing one hundred and five men. Galvez ordered General Giron and General Ezpeleta to advance against the fort, and a brisk fire was kept up on both sides until three o'clock in the afternoon, when a white flag was displayed from Fort George. Galvez refused to consent to a cessation of hostilities, and demanded an immediate capitulation, of which the terms were agreed upon at one o'clock in the

morning of May 9. The articles of capitulation, of which there were twenty-eight, were signed by General Campbell and Governor Chester for the English, and by Governor Galvez for the Spaniards. The first and most important article was as follows:

All the forts and posts which are occupied at present by the troops of His Britannic Majesty will be (within the specified time) surrendered to those of His Catholic Majesty. The English soldiers and the marines will march out with all the honors of war, carrying their arms, drums beating, banners flying, with two field guns with six cartridges, each soldier with the same number of cartridges, to a distance of five hundred yards from their various posts, where they will surrender their arms, and the officers will retain their swords, and will embark as soon as possible in ships in good condition and provided with provisions at the expense of His Catholic Majesty, to be taken to whatever ports of Great Britain Major-General Campbell may choose, except the ports of the island of Jamaica and St. Augustine, Florida. The troops and sailors will be under the immediate supervision of their respective officers, and shall not serve against Spain or her allies until exchanged for an equal number of Spanish prisoners, or of the latter's allies, Spanish prisoners to be given the preference, according to the custom established with regard to equality of rank and other equivalents.

On May 10, says Galvez in his Diary, six companies of grenadiers and those of the French chasseurs were drawn up at a distance of five hundred yards from Fort George. General Campbell delivered the flags of the Waldeck Regiment and one of the artillery, with the usual ceremonies, and the troops surrendered their arms. Two companies of grenadiers were ordered to take pos-

session of Fort George, and the French chasseurs of the circular battery. On the eleventh the Fort Red Cliffs in the Barrancas was occupied. It had had a garrison of one hundred and thirty-nine men and eleven guns.

Galvez ordered that preparations be made for the troops to return immediately to Havana. The number of prisoners was eleven hundred and thirteen, and the garrison had consisted of about sixteen hundred men, of whom three hundred had succeeded in escaping to Georgia, fifty-six deserted, and one hundred and five perished by the explosion of the powder-magazine. The number sixteen hundred did not include the men killed during the siege, many negroes who aided in the defense, and a multitude of Indians. Besides the prisoners there were one hundred and one women and one hundred and twenty-three children who were to accompany the prisoners. The Spanish army lost seventy-four men killed and one hundred and ninety-eight wounded; and the fleet, twenty-one killed and four wounded.

The achievements of Galvez at Pensacola were brilliant. He displayed great gallantry and ability as a commander. He was rewarded by being promoted to lieutenant-general, and made a knight pensioner of the Order of Charles III, and captain-general of Louisiana and Florida. We are grateful to him for having aided the Americans in their great Revolution, and for having given to the Louisianians the right to declare that they took part in the war for the independence of the United States.

CHAPTER IV.

END OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF GALVEZ— BEGINNING OF MIRÒ'S

Insurrection against Spain at Natchez—Sufferings of the fugitive insurgents—Trial and pardon of the insurgents—Terrible hurricane—Sympathy of Intendant Navarro—Galvez wishes to conquer the Bahama Islands and Jamaica—Important commercial privileges—Treaties of peace—Controversy about navigation of the Mississippi—Alexander McGillivray—Intense cold in 1784—Departure of Galvez—Royal schedule concerning Galvez—Death of Galvez—Governor Mirò—*Juez de residencia*—Census of 1785—Arrival of commissioners from Georgia—Letter of Mirò to the commissioners—Help to honest debtors—*Bando de buen gobierno*—Navarro's wise suggestions—Census of the Acadians—Don Diego de Gardoqui—Terrible conflagration—Schools—Census of 1788.



WE have seen that Fort Panmure, near Natchez, was surrendered to the Spaniards after the conquest of Baton Rouge by Galvez in 1779. General Lyman, from Connecticut, had established a settlement in that neighborhood in 1775, and those people had passed with regret under the rule of Spain.¹ During the siege of Pensacola they believed in the success of the British, and while Galvez was away from the province they decided upon capturing Fort Panmure from the Spaniards. The followers of Lyman, who was now dead, persuaded a number of inhabitants to join them, and on

April 22, 1781, they raised the British flag. They attacked the fort, which was surrendered on April 29, only ten days before the capitulation of Pensacola. When the insurgents heard of that event, they resolved to flee from the vengeance of the Spaniards, as the fate of Lafrénière and his brave companions was a terrible warning to insurgents against Spain. Galvez, however, had none of O'Reilly's cruelty, and the British sympathizers in the Natchez district were treated with clemency by the gallant young conqueror of Baton Rouge, Mobile, and Pensacola. Nevertheless, the participants in the insurrection at Fort Panmure determined to go to Savannah, Georgia, in the British lines. The distance was great, and was made much greater by the circuitous route which they were forced to take to avoid the Americans. "They were obliged," says Judge Martin, "to enter North Carolina, descend below the Altamaha, and cross again the State of Georgia to Savannah, on its northern limit."

The fugitives, among whom were many women and children, endured great sufferings and great dangers. The Choctaws were hostile to them, and the country traversed was very rugged. They finally formed two companies, of which one was captured by the Americans and the other succeeded in reaching Savannah at the end of October. The people from Natchez had suffered great hardships in order to reach British possessions, but when they arrived at Savannah, Cornwallis had surrendered at Yorktown on October 19, 1781, and the battle for American freedom was won.

Don Carlos de Grandpré, who had been appointed civil

and military commandant of the post and district of Natchez, entered upon the duties of his office in July, 1781, and measures were instituted to punish the insurgents. The property of the fugitives was confiscated, and seven of the leaders whom the Spaniards succeeded in arresting were sent to New Orleans and kept in close confinement. Seven of the insurgents were convicted and sentenced to death, but they were pardoned by Galvez. Monette gives the names of the chief insurgents as follows: ²

Those who had fled the country were Philip Alston, John Ogg, Christian Bingaman, Caleb Hansbrough, Thaddeus Lyman, John Watkins, William Case, John Turner, Thomas James, Philip Mulkey, Ebenezer Gosset, Thompson Lyman, Nathaniel Johnson. The following were "Leaders of the rebellion," who were prisoners in New Orleans on the 16th of November, awaiting their trials, viz: 1, John Alston, who was arrested in the Indian nation, 2, Jacob Blomart, "chief of the rebels," 3, John Smith, "lieutenant of rebels," 4, Jacob Winfrey, "captain of rebels," 5, William Eason, 6, Parker Caradine, 7, George Rappleje.

On August 24, 1780, a terrible hurricane desolated Louisiana, and the river rose to an extraordinary height. Don Martin Navarro, the intendant, addressed to the people a circular in which he expressed his sympathy for them and exhorted them to bear their misfortunes with fortitude. The people thanked him for his kind words and expressed their satisfaction with his administration and with that of Galvez.

The indefatigable young governor was not satisfied with his conquest of West Florida, but wished to take part

in an expedition against the Bahama Islands. Don Manuel de Gagigal, however, was appointed to the command of the troops, and conquered the islands, and Galvez went to Hispaniola for the purpose of commanding an expedition for the conquest of Jamaica. Unfortunately for the ambitious, brave, and patriotic governor, peace was signed between England and Spain before he had time to win new laurels by conquering Jamaica. During his absence Colonel Estevan Mirò was intrusted with the government of Louisiana.

The English having been expelled from the province by the exploits of Galvez, the inhabitants suffered greatly by the loss of the trade carried on by the British on the Mississippi, and the governor obtained from the Spanish government important privileges for the commerce of the province. The King of Spain wished to reward the Louisianians for their gallant conduct and their fidelity during the war with the English. These privileges were thus set forth:

1. Permission is given, during a period of ten years, to be computed from the day on which peace may be proclaimed, to all vessels of the King's subjects in the province of Louisiana, bound to New Orleans or Pensacola, to sail directly with their cargoes from any of the ports of France in which a Spanish consul resides, and to return thereto with peltries or the produce of Louisiana or West Florida (except specie, the exportation of which, in this way, is absolutely forbidden), under the express condition that a detailed invoice of all the merchandise on board, signed by the consul, shall be delivered by him, in a sealed cover, to the captain, to be presented by the latter at the custom-house of the place of destination.

2. In case of urgent necessity in the colony, the existence of which necessity is to be certified by the governor and intendant, permission is given to the colonists to resort to any port in the French West India Islands.

3. To encourage the commerce of the province to the ports of the peninsula to which it is allowed, permission is given to export, from New Orleans and Pensacola, any species of merchandise directly imported there from Spain, to be landed in any port within the King's American dominions to which trade is allowed, paying only the duty with which such merchandise would have been charged on its exportation from the peninsula, according to the regulations of the 12th of October, 1778; but the exportation of foreign merchandise imported into Louisiana is forbidden.

4. An exemption from duty is granted, during the same period, on negroes imported into Louisiana or West Florida; and permission is given to procure them in the colonies of neutral or allied powers, in exchange for produce or specie; paying only for such produce and specie the duties mentioned in the seventh article.

5. In order that the colonists may fully enjoy the favors and privileges now granted, they are permitted, during the term of two years, to be computed from the proclamation of peace in New Orleans, to purchase foreign vessels free from duty, and such vessels are to be considered as Spanish bottoms.

6. The exportation of pipe and barrel-staves from Louisiana to Spain, is permitted, free from duty.

7. It being just that commerce should contribute to the charges of the colony and the expenses it occasions, a duty of six per cent. is laid on all merchandise exported and imported by the King's subjects in the peninsula, Louisiana, and West Florida, according to a moderate assessment.

8. Custom-houses are to be established in New Orleans and Pensacola.

On January 20, 1783, the preliminary articles of peace between Great Britain and France and Spain were signed

at Paris, and on September 3 definitive treaties were signed at Paris between the same governments and the United States. By the first, the King of Great Britain acknowledged the independence of the United States, and recognized, as their southern boundary, a line to be drawn due east from a point in the river Mississippi, in latitude 31 degrees north, to the middle of the river Appalachicola or Cataouche; thence along the middle thereof to its junction with Flint River; thence straight to the head of St. Mary's River; and thence down along the middle of St. Mary's River to the Atlantic Ocean. By the eighth article it was expressly provided that the navigation of the Mississippi, from its source to the Gulf, should forever remain free and open to the subjects of Great Britain and the citizens of the United States.

The claim to the free navigation of the Mississippi gave rise to a controversy, which lasted until 1795, when it was settled by the treaty of Madrid. As Great Britain had ceded all the Floridas to Spain, the Mississippi flowed wholly within the dominions of the latter for the last three hundred miles. "His Catholic Majesty therefore claimed the exclusive right to the use of the river below the southern limits of the United States. Independent of this principle, Spain refused to recognize the southern boundary of the United States as extending farther south than the old British boundary of Florida, which was an imaginary line extending from the mouth of the Yazoo due east to the Chattahoochy, or in latitude 32 degrees 28 minutes north. As the treaty of 1783, in the cession of Florida to Spain, designated no boundaries, but pre-

sumed that of the United States, Spain demanded Florida with its British boundaries, alleging that England, by the treaty, confirmed to her the dominion of Florida, which was then in her possession as a conquered province.”³

Independently of their claim through Great Britain, the United States asserted a natural right to the free navigation of the Mississippi, the right of following to the sea the currents of the eastern tributaries of the great river.

The Spaniards, through the conquests of Galvez, had acquired West Florida, and the dominion of Charles III had been considerably enlarged. The Spanish officers in Louisiana proved to be as wise statesmen as able warriors, and displayed tact and skill in their dealings with the Indians. They were fortunate in obtaining the good will of Alexander McGillivray, a half-breed Indian, chief of the Talapouches.⁴ He was the son of Lachlan McGillivray, a Scotchman who owned extensive trading-houses in Augusta and Savannah, and plantations on the river. He was a royalist, and had left Savannah with the British on the evacuation of that city. His property was confiscated by the whigs, and his Indian wife and his children were deprived of their estates. In 1781, at Pensacola, lived a wealthy merchant, another Scotchman named William Panton. He made the acquaintance of William McGillivray, and when Pensacola was captured by the Spaniards he introduced the great chieftain to the Spanish authorities of West Florida. “McGillivray went to Pensacola,” says Pickett, “and entered into a treaty of

alliance with Spain (June 1, 1784). Spain was represented by Don Estevan Mirò, of New Orleans, Governor of West Florida; Don Arthur O'Neill, Commandant of Pensacola; and Don Martin Navarro, Intendant-General of Florida. Colonel McGillivray represented the whole Creek and Seminole nations. It was stipulated that the Creek and Seminole Indians should defend and sustain the cause of His Catholic Majesty, and obey his orders, through his captain-general of the provinces of the Floridas and Louisiana, in those points that are compatible with Indian character; that Spain should proportion among the Indians a desirable and permanent commerce, at the most judicious places; that the Creeks should establish a general peace with the Chickasaws, Choctaws, and Cherokees; that all strangers, introducing themselves among the Indians for the purpose of stirring up rebellion against the King of Spain, should immediately be seized, and conveyed to the Governor of Pensacola; that the Indians should admit into their country no white person who did not bear a Spanish permit; that they should abandon the practice of taking scalps, if engaged in war; that they should deliver up all white prisoners, subjects of the United States, and not admit into their nations fugitive slaves from the provinces of Louisiana and Florida, but should apprehend and deliver them to the commandants."

The Louisianians had acquired glory during the administration of Governor Galvez, and had obtained some relief from restrictions on commerce; but they suffered considerably from the inclemency of the weather. The

winter of 1784 was extraordinary. Villars, one of the commissioners of the French government, in a letter dated New Orleans, February 25, 1784, makes wonderful statements about the weather. He says:⁵

We have endured, and we endure yet, here a winter most rigorous, which will always appear an extraordinary phenomenon under the parallel of 30 degrees. The lower part of this colony, although 12 degrees more to the south than Provence, enjoys, in general, the same temperature. The summer is there exceedingly warm, and the winter has only the degree of cold sufficient to freeze, from time to time, the surface of the stagnant waters, and prepare the revival of nature. But the present winter has presented to us continually the spectacle of the disturbance of the zones. Since the months of July and August we had felt north winds cold enough to make us put aside our habitual light clothes. The heats of the canicular days had only had the mild temperature of the fine days of spring. The white frosts of the morning began with the month of September, and became very frequent until the 15th of November. At that time the season took on a character of extraordinary rigor. The winds blew continually, in gusts and with incredible violence, from north to south, bearing from the east. In the first half rhumb they would cover the earth with ice; in the second they would bring us back to the heats of the month of April. The variations of the weather were such that I saw several times, in the space of six hours, the Réaumur thermometer pass from the 20th degree above ice, to two and three degrees below; this fact will appear incredible, but I have seen it myself with a thermometer placed in a room with fire. What rigor in a latitude where everywhere else one enjoys a perpetual summer! But here is another phenomenon. On the 13th of February the Mississippi in front of New Orleans was covered with pieces of ice, of which most were from twelve to thirty feet in diameter, with a thickness which varied from two to five feet. Those masses were

so numerous and so close together that they formed a field two hundred yards in width, so that communication between the two banks was completely interrupted during five whole days (until the 18th). The river ceased to carry the pieces of ice at that time; it had then a velocity of twelve hundred yards an hour, which gives the mass of fragments of ice a length of 60 leagues. These floes descended from 400 leagues north, and although they traveled continually to the south during more than thirty days, the cold weather which they met at lower latitudes had prevented them from melting. These masses arrived at the passes of the Mississippi at the 29th parallel, and must have spread beyond the 28th degree. Several vessels met them between these two parallels. In the memory of man one had never seen ice in the neighborhood of the circle of the Pacific Ocean. May this phenomenon not have been fatal to some navigators surprised! The future will tell us, perhaps, to what exact latitude these masses have been transported by the winds and the currents. It would be very strange if some had reached the tropics. I have laid stress on this event, because I believe that the knowledge of it may be useful to the observations of the physicists, and especially to warn and protect the navigators against the false reasonings and the accidents of surprise, if they shall be carried toward regions where such a phenomenon might be repeated.

The colony suffered not only from the inclemency of the weather, and from bad crops, but also from the depreciation of paper money, and from an unwise decree in 1784 which forbade foreign vessels from entering the river under any pretext whatever.⁶ In 1785 the province suffered a heavy loss in the retirement of Galvez from Louisiana. He was appointed captain-general of Cuba, of Louisiana, and of East and West Florida, and on the death of his father, in the summer of 1785, he was

appointed to the viceroyalty of Mexico. He retained, however, the captain-generalship of Louisiana and the Floridas. During the administration of Galvez in Louisiana Father Cirilo, the opponent of Father Dagobert, was made a bishop *in partibus infidelium*, for the see of Tricaly in Greece, and was named the coadjutor to Don Joseph de Estechevaria, Bishop of Cuba. The new bishop, however, was to remain in Louisiana.

Everything concerning Bernardo de Galvez is so interesting that we shall give here an abstract of the royal schedule by which Louisiana, Pensacola, Mobile, and West Florida were erected into an independent captaincy, and Galvez appointed to command it. The schedule was printed at Havana on March 4, 1782, and reprinted by a friend on July 15, 1782, at Santa Fé de Bogota.⁷ A copy of the reprint is to be found in the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island. The King addresses Galvez and says in substance: "Know that I am well informed of your distinguished merit and of your signal services; that, following the example of your ancestors, you chose very young the profession of arms, and that, as you had made war in Portugal as a volunteer, and with the rank of lieutenant of infantry, in 1772, I sent you afterward to the Kingdom of New Spain, where as captain of infantry and commandant of the provinces in the interior and on the frontier of that empire, you maintained the honor of my royal arms, chastising several times the ferocious Apache Indians, at the cost of your blood, as you were wounded in several engagements and exposed to great peril in others. Having re-

turned to Spain by my order in 1772, you were captain of the regiment of infantry of Seville at the battle of Argel in 1775, and you were seriously wounded, for which I gave you the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and ordered you to return to the Military School of Avila, where, according to the reports of your chiefs, you distinguished yourself by your diligence and your talents. In order to defend the province of Louisiana and to increase its population and its commerce, and to have at that point a person in whom I had entire confidence, I appointed you in 1776 colonel of the regiment of Louisiana, and named you immediately provisional governor, in which office and in other employments, as in some delicate dealings with the English upon the river and its banks, you acted with the greatest prudence, activity, and honor, worthy of my royal name and sovereignty, for which I appointed you in 1779 a brigadier. When I was compelled by the just and excellent motives which were apparent to all Europe to declare war against the King of Great Britain, you received my orders and instructions relative to the war, with the title of governor of Louisiana, at the end of July, 1779, and although, on account of the situation and feeble condition of that province, all the officers whom you had assembled in council declared unanimously that the plan should be reduced to a mere defensive until reinforcements should be received from Havana, you alone took the heroic resolution of attacking the English in their own posts and fortifications."

The King then speaks of the hurricane of August 18, 1779, and its devastations, which did not discourage Gal-

vez, as described above, and the campaign against Baton Rouge, which ended by the capture of Fort Manchac, Fort Baton Rouge, the surrender of Fort Panmure at Natchez, and other posts of the English on the east side of the Mississippi, and the capture of eight vessels that had come from Pensacola to the help of the forts.

This undertaking and its respective operations were so well directed, and the result was so fortunate, that without having more than one man wounded, you made one thousand Englishmen surrender, and placed under my domination four hundred and thirty leagues of rich and most fertile lands, peopled with plantations and different Indian nations dealing in peltries, preventing in this way my enemies from entrance into the interior provinces of New Spain, for which particular service I made you *mariscal de campo* [major-general] of my armies.

The King then refers to the siege and capture of Mobile on March 14, 1780. He relates how the Spanish fleet was wrecked, and how about eight hundred men found themselves almost naked on the coast of a desert island, without provisions, ammunition, or any other resources except those that were suggested by the valor of the commander and the constancy of the troops; and yet the general had resolved to attack the fort of Mobile, making ladders out of pieces of the wrecked ships. The arrival of provisions and troops from Havana in four small ships made it possible to besiege Mobile, which was surrendered with three hundred and seven men in the sight of General Campbell, who had left Pensacola with eleven hundred men to reinforce Mobile, and who retired hurriedly with the loss of a captain and sixteen dragoons

taken prisoners, and with the mortification of seeing his expedition thwarted while he was an eye-witness of the military skill of Galvez and the valor of the Spanish troops, which dragged by hand the artillery and all that was necessary for the siege.

Here follows a very complete narrative of the siege of Pensacola in 1781. Special mention is made of Galvez's heroism when he crossed the bar on board the brig *Galveztown*, after the officers of the Spanish fleet had refused to risk their ships in such an undertaking. Galvez, said the King, had understood how dishonorable it would be for the royal arms to desist from the attack on Pensacola. Full details are given of the siege, and mention is made of the fact that Galvez was wounded twice, but that he continued to direct the operations against the city, which capitulated on May 10, 1781.

By this glorious conquest, and those made formerly, has been accomplished the important and desired object of expelling the English from the whole Mexican Gulf, where they have done so much harm to my subjects and royal interests, in time of peace as well as of war; and having received from you the news of such a happy result, I granted you immediately the rank of lieutenant-general of my armies; and remembering that the great post of Pensacola was named at the time of its discovery Bay of Santa Maria; that later it received the name of Galve in honor of the count of that name who visited it and established a settlement there when he was viceroy of New Spain; and that it is just that there remain of you in that region an honorable and perpetual remembrance, I have decreed that from this time and forever it be named Bay of Santa Maria de Galvez, in honor of the Most Holy Virgin and in remembrance of you as its conqueror: that the castle of

Barrancas Coloradas, called formerly Santo Thomé, be named San Carlos for having been constructed at the time of Don Carlos II, and its recovery effected during my fortunate reign: that Fort George be named hereafter San Miguel for having capitulated on the day of the Apparition of this Holy Archangel General of the God of Armies: and that to perpetuate in your posterity the memory of the heroic action, when alone you forced the entrance to that bay, you should place as a crest on your coat of arms the brig *Galveztown* with the motto: *Yo Solo*; and that your children, descendants, and successors use this escutcheon.

The King then says he has resolved to erect into a governorship and captaincy-general, independent of the island of Cuba and of the Indies, the provinces of Louisiana, Pensacola, Mobile, Apalache, and others which the English possessed, by the name of West Florida, and to appoint Galvez first governor and independent captain-general, with a salary at present of ten thousand dollars per annum. The King adds that he has ordered that a narrative be made in this royal schedule of the signal services of Galvez and of the rewards he has merited, for the honor and satisfaction of the latter, that his illustrious house and family might keep this document, which was a testimonial of the royal gratitude for his great merit and for the just causes for which he has been distinguished.

Very few subjects have received such praise from their sovereign and have deserved it as well as Galvez. He became as popular as viceroy of Mexico as he had been as governor of Louisiana, and his wife, who was a native of the latter province, is said to have contributed greatly to his popularity by her exquisite charm and her charity.

Bernardo de Galvez died in Mexico in 1786, at the age of thirty.⁸

The successor of Galvez was Don Estevan Mirò, who was appointed governor of Louisiana on July 14, 1785, "on account of his services as governor *ad interim* during the absence of titular Governor Count de Galvez while commanding the army in the late war."⁹ Mirò was to receive a salary of four thousand dollars. He was not as brilliant a man as his predecessor, but his administration was mild and enlightened, and may be compared with that of Unzaga, into whose official acts he was ordered to inquire as *juez de residencia*, or judge of residence.¹⁰ "Residence," says Judge Martin, "is a term which, in the jurisprudence of Spain, is used to denote an inquiry into the official conduct of any public functionary, whenever, by death, removal, or any other cause, he has ceased to execute the duties of his office. The decision of a judge of residence is reviewed on appeal by the Council of the Indies. The inquiry is made at the principal place of the district in which the late officer exercised his functions." This investigation into the acts of an official should have produced excellent effects, but it seems that, however good in theory the custom was, it did not amount to much in practice and was a mere formality.

One of the first acts of Governor Mirò's administration was the establishment by the cabildo of a hospital for lepers, on a ridge of high land in the rear of New Orleans, between the river and Bayou St. John. This was known as Lepers' Land long after the hospital and its inmates had disappeared from New Orleans.

A census of the inhabitants of Louisiana and West Florida was taken in 1785, with the following results: Within the city of New Orleans, 4980; from the Balize to the city, 2100; at Terre aux Bœufs, 576; on Bayous St. John and Gentilly, 678; Tchoupitoulas, 7046; parish of St. Charles, 1903; St. John the Baptist, 1300; St. James, 1332; Lafourche, 646; Lafourche, interior, 352; Iberville, 673; Pointe Coupée, 1521; Opelousas, 1211; Attakapas, 1070; New Iberia, 125; Ouachita, 207; Rapides, 88; Avoyelles, 287; Natchitoches, 756; Arkansas, 196; St. Geneviève, 694; St. Louis, 897; Manchac, 77; Galveston, 242; Baton Rouge, 270; Natchez, 1550; Mobile, 746; Pensacola, 592; total, 32,115. The census of 1785 proved that the population had more than doubled since 1769, when O'Reilly established the Spanish domination.

In the same year, 1785, there was a considerable accession to the population by the arrival of a number of Acadian families, who came over at the expense of the King of France and were settled on both sides of the river near Plaquemines, at Terre aux Bœufs, on Bayou Lafourche, and in the Attakapas and Opelousas.

We have seen that the State of Georgia claimed all the territory from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, bounded on the south by the thirty-first parallel of latitude. Part of this region, however, was occupied by the Spaniards, and commissioners were appointed, who arrived in New Orleans in the autumn of 1785. "They notified the Spanish governor that on February 7, 1785, the Legislature of Georgia had passed an act which provided for

DON ESTEVAN MIRÒ

1744-1795

Fifth Spanish Governor of Louisiana. He afterward rose to the rank of Lieutenant-General in the Spanish army. From a contemporary portrait in the possession of Baron Édouard de Pontalba, Senlis, France.



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the erection of a county, by the name of Bourbon County, near the Mississippi, comprising all the lands below the mouth of the Yazoo, to which the Indian title had been extinguished.¹¹

Governor Mirò refused to consider their claims, and to surrender to them the fort and district of Natchez, of which Colonel Francisco Boulogny was then commandant. In a letter to them, dated September 7, 1785, he says: ¹²

It is not my duty to insist on the indisputable right of Spain to own the territory as far as the mouth of the Ohio River, on the east bank of the Mississippi River, since Don Diego Gardoqui is sent by His Majesty to Philadelphia as special commissioner to adjust the terms of limit with the aforesaid United States; thus I shall only mention that I have received no orders to deliver the said fort and district of Natchez, and, consistently with my oath, I am compelled to refuse them to all claimants, and to defend them against whatever enemies might offer to attack them, so long as I have no order from my sovereign to yield them up; consequently, I cannot permit you, sirs, to exercise your commission of justices of the peace in the said district or in any other within the dominions of His Majesty up to the already mentioned mouth of the Ohio River, which are under my command, and I hope that you will abstain from exercising therein any act of authority that I could consider hostile on your part, as from the present time I declare that you shall control nothing whatever in the territories of His Majesty, and by the laws of the Indies I can permit in them no foreign interference.

These words are quoted to show how polite and how firm was Governor Mirò. To the end of the Spanish domination the governors of Louisiana were called upon

to display great tact and courage in their dealings with the Americans, who claimed free navigation of the Mississippi River and coveted the city of New Orleans, which was destined to be the great emporium of the Mississippi valley.

Governor Mirò displayed his usual gentleness and tact in 1785 by allowing further time to the British settlers in East and West Florida to remove their persons and effects from these provinces, after the eighteen months agreed upon by the treaty had expired. This was done with the consent of Galvez, who as captain-general of Louisiana and Florida was Mirò's superior. The same privilege was granted the inhabitants of Natchez, and in 1786 the King approved Mirò's conduct and allowed the British settlers to remain in their districts on their taking an oath of allegiance and fidelity. Irish priests were to be sent to the districts where there were English-speaking people, in the hope of bringing them over to the Catholic faith. No one was to be molested on account of his religious opinions, but no public worship other than the Catholic was allowed.

Since the royal schedule of 1782 the trade of New Orleans had revived, and commercial houses from France had established themselves there. But the planters who had obtained credit from the British traders, at the time of the Manchac establishments referred to at length in Colonel Boulogny's memoir, were sorely pressed for payment. Mirò, as formerly Unzaga, came to the help of the honest debtors, sometimes, it was said, satisfying the creditor from his own purse. In 1786 the governor issued his

bando de buen gobierno, which was a proclamation somewhat equivalent to the inaugural address of our American governors. It differed from the latter, however, in the fact that the Spanish governors not only announced what they intended to do, but issued orders that were as much to be obeyed by the people as laws passed by our present legislatures and approved by our American governors. Mirò's *bando de buen gobierno* is very interesting, and we shall quote in full what Judge Martin says about it: ¹³

In this document Mirò begins by stating that religion being the object of the wise laws of Spain, and a reverend demeanor in church a consequence of it, the bishop having lately published an edict with regard to the respect and devotion with which the faithful are to attend the celebration of the holy mysteries, the proceedings of the vicar-general against delinquents will receive every necessary aid from the government. Working on the Sabbath and other holy festivals is prohibited, except in cases of necessity, without the license of the vicar. He forbids the doors of shops or stores being kept open during the hours of divine service, and the dances of slaves on the public square, on those days, before the close of the evening service.

He declares his intention to proceed with severity against all persons living in concubinage. He observes that the idleness of free negro, mulatto, and quadroon women, resulting from their dependence for a livelihood on incontinence and libertinage, will not be tolerated. He recommends them to renounce their mode of living, and to betake themselves to honest labor; and declares his determination to have those who neglect his recommendation sent out of the province, warning them that he will consider their excessive attention to dress as an evidence of their conduct.

He complains that the distinction which had been established in the head-dress of females of color is disregarded, and urges

that it is useful to enforce it; forbids them to wear thereon any plumes or jewelry, and directs them to wear their hair bound in a handkerchief.

He announces that the laws against gambling and dueling, and against those who carry about their persons dirks, pistols, and other arms, shall be rigorously enforced.

The nightly assemblages of people of color are prohibited.

The inhabitants of the city are forbidden to leave it, either by land or water, without a passport; and those who leave the province are to give security for the payment of their debts.

Persons coming in, by land or water, are to present themselves at the government house.

Those who harbor convicts, or deserters, from the land or naval service, are to be punished.

Any large concourse of people, without the knowledge of government, is inhibited.

None are to walk out at night without urgent necessity, and not then without a light.

No house or apartment is to be rented to a slave.

Tavern-keepers are to shut their houses at regular hours, and not to sell spirituous liquors to Indians, soldiers, or slaves.

Purchases from soldiers, Indians, convicts, or slaves are prohibited.

Regulations are made to prevent forestalling, hogs running at large in the streets, the keeping too great a number of dogs, and the removal of dead animals.

Measures are taken to guard against conflagrations, for draining the streets, and for keeping the landing on the levee unobstructed.

Verbal sales of slaves are prohibited.

During a part of Mirò's administration as governor of Louisiana, Martin Navarro was intendant. He was as wise as his chief, and in one of his despatches in 1786 he

speaks of the commerce with the Indian tribes and makes suggestions that "would cause to fall into Spanish hands the manna offered by the trade with the Indians, which is a casket of wealth, of which others have the use, although we hold its key. The treasures of that mine would then find their way into the coffers of our nation, and our enemies would not wrest from us the bread that should help to our sustenance, and forty thousand dollars a year would be sufficient to supply all the wants of that trade."¹⁴ He concludes his despatch with these sensible words:

If the province of Louisiana is intended to serve as a barrier against the Americans, it cannot answer this purpose without a considerable increase of its population, and it can acquire the numerous population of which it is susceptible, only through commerce and agriculture. The one requires protection, the other assistance. The former cannot prosper without freedom and unlimited expansion; the latter cannot succeed without laborers. Both are necessary to supply the means of paying the expenses of the colony, to secure the possessions and the rights of the sovereign, and to make his power and arms respected. These are all my views on this matter.

In 1787 the districts of Opelousas and Attakapas, which, thus far, had had but one commandant for both, were separated. The Chevalier de Clouet, who before had been in command of both, was left in charge of the Attakapas, and Don Nicolas Forstall was appointed commandant of the district of Opelousas. At that time Mirò made special efforts to encourage emigration from the west into Louisiana, and, says Gayarré, wishing to as-

certain the number of Acadians who had settled in Louisiana, he caused a census to be taken, and it was found in 1787, that the population amounted to fifteen hundred and eighty-seven souls.

Don Diego de Gardoqui had been sent as minister to the United States. He resolved to encourage emigration from Kentucky and North Carolina to the right bank of the Mississippi, and he formed plans for annexing the western part of the United States to the province of Louisiana.

“On March 21, 1788,” says Gayarré, “that being Good Friday, at half-past one in the afternoon, a fire broke out in New Orleans, in the house of the military treasurer, Vicente José Nuñez, and reduced to ashes eight hundred and fifty-six edifices, among which were the stores of all the merchants, and the dwellings of the principal inhabitants, the cathedral, the convent of the Capuchins, with the greater portion of their books, the town hall, the watch-house, and the arsenal with all its contents. Only seven hundred and fifty muskets were saved. The public prison was also burned, and there was hardly time to save the lives of the inmates. Most of the buildings that escaped were those that fronted the river. Mirò sent to the court of Spain a detailed account of the losses occasioned by this fire, putting them down at \$2,595,561.” The governor did everything in his power to relieve the distress of the inhabitants.

In a despatch of April 1, 1788,¹⁵ already referred to with regard to the state of education in Louisiana in 1772, during Unzaga's administration, Mirò says the

conflagration of March 21, 1788, destroyed the building that had been rented as a school-house for Don Manuel de Lara, and that Don Andres Almonester y Roxas had offered the use of a small house where Don Manuel might reside and keep school in a room thirteen feet long by twelve feet wide, a sufficient space, as many families have gone to the plantations to live, and only twelve students remain out of twenty-three who were at the school before the fire. The governor recommends that a brick school-house be built, at a cost of six thousand dollars. He adds that "the introduction of the Spanish language in the province was a difficult work, and one requiring a long time, as had been the case in all countries where a change of domination had taken place. Until now, all that has been accomplished is, that the proceedings of the courts of justice in New Orleans be conducted in Spanish. Such has not been the case in the posts and in the parishes, where absolutely nothing but French is spoken. Even in the city the books of the merchants are kept in that language, except of those merchants who are Spaniards by birth. For this reason, as here, those persons who do not possess plantations aspire to give no other profession to their sons than that of merchants (a reason for which they reduce education to knowing how to read, write, and count); they prefer to give their children that instruction in French, and even before the fire there were eight schools that were attended by about four hundred boys and girls."

In the same despatch of April 1, 1788, Mirò announces that he is going to remove the cemetery from the interior

of the city, and on November 30, 1788, he mentions the hospital of charity, the hospital for lepers, and the church of the convent of the Ursuline nuns, which Don Andres Almonester y Roxas had built at his own expense, increasing the small fund which the Charity Hospital possessed.¹⁶ The governor suggests that the favor solicited by Almonester be granted him, or any other, at the King's pleasure, which would influence him to construct at his own expense, as he has offered, the parochial church of the city, at a cost of fifty thousand dollars. We do not know what was the favor which Almonester solicited of the King of Spain.

In 1788 Mirò received and executed a commission of *juez de residencia* into the acts of Galvez as governor, but probably Don Estevan found nothing to criticize in the administration of his brilliant predecessor.

In the spring of 1788 Don Martin Navarro, the able intendant of Louisiana, left the province, and Mirò united in his person the offices of governor and intendant. In his last communication to the King, Navarro had called attention to the ambition of the United States, whose aim was to extend their possessions to the Pacific Ocean. He spoke of the danger to the Spanish provinces arising from the emancipation of the former British colonies, and suggested that the best way to protect Louisiana and the Floridas was to dismember the western country. This was also Gardoqui's policy, and probably Mirò's, and attempts were seriously made by the Spanish authorities to accomplish that purpose.

A census taken in 1788 presented the following re-

sults: ¹⁷ Within the city of New Orleans, 5338; from the Balize to the city, 2378; at Terre aux Bœufs, 661; on the Bayous St. John and Gentilly, 772; Barataria, 40; Tchoupitoulas, 7589; parish of St. Charles, 2381; St. John the Baptist, 1368; St. James, 1559; Lafourche, 1164; Lafourche, interior, 1500; Iberville, 944; Pointe Coupée, 2004; Opelousas, 1985; Attakapas, 2541; New Iberia, 190; Ouachita, 232; Rapides, 147; Avoyelles, 209; Natchitoches, 1021; Arkansas, 119; St. Geneviève, 896; St. Louis, 1197; Manchac, 284; Galveztown, 268; Baton Rouge, 682; Feliciana, 730; Natchez, 2679; Mobile, 1368; Pensacola, 265; total, 42,611. In Lower Louisiana there were 34,142 souls, and in Upper Louisiana, 2093. The number of white persons was 19,445. The increase in population since the last census (1785) was more than ten thousand. The progress of the colony had been very gratifying during Mirò's administration, and the only serious mishap had been the great conflagration in New Orleans in March, 1788.

CHAPTER V

GOVERNOR MIRÒ'S DEALINGS WITH THE INDIANS AND WITH THE WESTERN PEOPLE

Presents to the Indians—Trade with the Indians—The Choctaws—Captain de La Villebeuvre and Mirò meet the Indians—McGillivray's answer to Pickens and Matthews—McGillivray's letter to Mirò—Foundation of New Madrid—General Wilkinson—D'Argès in the pay of Spain—Product of Wilkinson's tobacco—Memorial of Colonel Morgan about New Madrid—Oliver Pollock—Death of Charles III—Expulsion of the commissary of the Inquisition—Wilkinson's letter to Gardequi—State of Frankland—Mirò district—Failure of Mirò's plan—Communication of the cabildo to the King about the slaves—Arrival of comedians from Santo Domingo—Departure of Mirò from Louisiana—Authenticity of the Spanish documents—Don Pascual de Gayangos.



AS Don Francisco Boulogny had said in his memoir in 1776, it was indispensable to obtain the friendship of the Indians, and for that purpose he had suggested a plan for dealing with them. It is interesting to see, from the reports of Intendant Navarro and Governor Mirò, what were the relations of the Spaniards with the Indians in 1788. Presents of merchandise, provisions, ammunition, and brandy were made to them, and the following table shows how expensive were those forced liberalities.¹ It is reckoned in silver reales. In 1779 the cost was 175,603-22; in 1780, 163,-

670-02; in 1781, 103,855; in 1782, 1,038,243-30; in 1783, 594,946-23; in 1784, 599,972-27; in 1785, 119,630-17; in 1786, 124,903-24; in 1787, 250,791-10. Besides these amounts, Don Gilberto Maxent, who had been appointed by Galvez captain-general for everything concerning the Indians, received fifty thousand dollars (*pesos fuertes*) for his purposes, in November, 1781, and in 1782 goods were imported from Europe which were not included in the account above.

In another despatch, dated January 8, 1788, Navarro says the King has approved the permission given by Mirò, and by him to Don Guillermo Panton, Don Santiago Mather, and Don José Ramon de Urquijo, to export from London goods suitable for trading with the Indians. Commerce with the latter was conducted as follows, adds Navarro: The merchants who undertook it (referring to those of Mobile and Pensacola) were obliged, as soon as they established a store in those towns, to confide to a trader the goods they wished to risk in the commerce with the Indians. The trader carried the goods to the village of the savages, and sold them on credit, to be paid for after the hunting was over, so that he relied entirely on the good faith of the Indians. In such a trade the losses were so great that the merchant in the town charged one hundred per cent. on his goods, and the trader fifty per cent. more, which made the Indians pay for the goods, when by chance they did so, an extravagant price. Navarro recommended that the Spanish Governor should not attend to such a commerce; that the goods be sold the Indians according to the tariff agreed upon in

1784; that McGillivray, commissioner of the Talapouches or Creeks, be interested in this trade; and that the traders be only those who are established among the Indians. The latter should be enabled to buy as many things as they wished, especially powder, guns, and bullets. The traders, says Navarro, are all Englishmen, but they have taken the oath of fidelity, and the Indians do not care whether they deal with an Englishman or with a Spaniard. The two houses in Mobile and Pensacola that attend to this commerce have been on the point of abandoning it, and it would be very unfortunate if Mather and Panton were to give up their exports from London.

The Choctaws played an important part in the history of Louisiana during the French domination, and a remnant of this once powerful tribe still lingers on our soil. Choctaw women may still be seen at the French market in New Orleans selling herbs and delightful gumbo, and having by their sides little children who sit as quiet as their ancestors, the savage warriors, when they smoked the calumet with the Frenchman or with the Spaniard who had come from far-away lands to occupy their hunting-grounds. Now there are no warriors among the Choctaws, and the white man has nothing to fear from the red man; but it is interesting to look at the savages as they were in 1788, in order to catch a glimpse of them before they disappear as tribes of importance.

In January, 1788, Captain Don Juan de La Villebeuvre returned from his journey to the Indian nations,

having accomplished his mission perfectly.² There had been a meeting of the whole Choctaw tribe, which promised that hereafter they would not receive the Americans, and would remain entirely under the protection of His Catholic Majesty. At the village of the Yazoo the principal chiefs met Captain de La Villebeuvre. The king, or first chief, of the Choctaw nation was present with his uncle Taskatapo, a man of great influence in his tribe. After the captain's address, three Choctaw chiefs—Tranchimastabe, Mingohuma, and Chetonaque—answered him. The king of the Chickasaws and several men of the tribe went to New Orleans to assure Mirò of their devotion to the King of Spain, and to deny having made a treaty with the Americans. The governor received the Indians well, and announced his satisfaction at the result of the meeting. He recommended the appointment of a commissioner of the Choctaws and Chickasaws, who should reside among them, and whose chief duty should be to counteract the efforts that the Americans might make to attract them to their side. The commissioner should be allowed to spend two months every year in New Orleans, and should receive fifty dollars gratuity every month, besides a good salary. Mirò reports Captain de La Villebeuvre as having rendered meritorious services in his journey of one hundred and twenty-eight leagues in uninhabited regions, and recommends that the captain be made a lieutenant-colonel.

The speech of Tranchimastabe at the Yazoo, on November 1, 1787, in answer to Captain de La Villebeuvre, is characteristic of Indian eloquence. He said:

The two chiefs of New Orleans say they are astonished to see that the chiefs of the Choctaw nation have not kept the word which they gave at the congress of not admitting Americans on their lands. They are right; but I was not there, because two chiefs slandered me, saying that I was a man of nothing. I have not broken my word, and I prove that I am a man of firmness who has only one word, one heart, and one way of thinking. The English, before I left them, told me to remember them and to follow them, and they gave me many goods, but already I find myself with my last shirt. I hope that the Señor Mirò and the Señor Intendant are not very angry with me for having loved a white man who did me good; and as they are willing to receive me, I accept their hand with pleasure, and put aside the English banner to hoist that of the King of Spain, assuring Señor Mirò that once I have taken his word I am like a strong tree which no wind can overthrow, and I receive it with pleasure, hoping that he will come to Mobile to see us, which is the place where all the white men have always seen the red men. When a father desires to see his sons, he does not expose them to crossing deep waters. Finally, to show that I listen to his word with pleasure, I send him a white necklace and a white wing, which are our tokens of friendship, and four of my captains, hoping that they will send me a banner wider and larger than the one that you have brought to me.

The speech of Mingohuma, chief of the village of Opelousas, is not very interesting; but that of Chetonaque, who spoke in the name of the chiefs of the six villages, deserves to be noticed:

I have heard with pleasure the word of the chiefs of New Orleans, and that of the chiefs of the great and of the small parties, and I see with satisfaction that we are going to unite all the chiefs of the Choctaw nation, in order to have only one White Father,

one heart, and one way of thinking. All the bad words will be finished; let us live in tranquillity with our wives and children. Why go to seek a white man so distant? Do we not have the Spaniards, who give us what we need? You, Tranchimastabe, do not think any more of the English; they are very far away and will not return. Since the Spanish chiefs give you their hand, accept it, and do not listen to the words of one and the other. The red men say many lies, which have no foundation; you must not believe them. Go to New Orleans; the road is not as long as you believe; I have never heard it said that a red man has been drowned in the crossing; and, on the other hand, are we not men to die when it is necessary? As for what concerns the six villages, we have not gone to see the Americans, nor do we wish to do so, and we have always the hand of the Spaniards. If any white man of another nation comes, we shall send him away, and if he does not wish to go, we shall have him tied and taken to Mobile.

Yaganchuma, second chief of the Choctaws after Tranchimastabe, spoke to Governor Mirò, in New Orleans, on January 3, 1788. He said that he and many other chiefs had accepted the word sent them through Captain de La Villebeuvre to come to New Orleans and place at the governor's feet the English medals, banners, and papers, and get others from him, because they were Spaniards from that moment. He, their father, had reproved them for having gone to the Americans, but it was not to give them lands: it was because all the red men are poor and do not know how to do anything, and they are obliged to go to the white nations, which do all things, in order that the Indians might receive presents. The Americans asked for lands, but the chiefs said they were not authorized by the nation to give lands to any

one. Nevertheless, papers were prepared and the Indians signed them, thinking it was to receive presents. When they understood that the papers were to give away lands, they burned them. The Americans, however, made them drink strong water, or fire-water, and when they were drunk they made their mark again on other papers and received a banner. This banner was given to Mirò, and Yaganchuma concluded his speech with these words, which the governor must have heard with a smile, as he knew so well the duplicity of the Indians: "To-day we take your hand; you are our father, and we are your sons. I beg you to forget all that has happened, and never to speak again of the false treaty."

Taskutoka, king of the Chickasaws, spoke in favor of the Choctaws, and testified to their good faith. He must have forgotten the wars of the times of Bienville and Périer, when the Choctaws were the allies of the French against the Chickasaws.

On March 29, 1788, Andrew Pickens and George Matthews addressed a letter to Alexander McGillivray and other chiefs of the Talapouche or Creek nation, saying that the United States desired a durable peace with them. As this letter is dated from Fort Charlotte, and Mirò sent a translation of it to his government, it is evident that the Spanish governor must have approved of its purport. On April 1, 1788, Mirò addressed a communication to Don José de Ezpeleta, Governor of Havana, about the Choctaws and the Chickasaws. He mentions the chiefs Taboca and Mongulachamingo, who had gone to Philadelphia and had obtained a passport from Benjamin

Franklin. Translations are given of letters of Knox, Secretary of War, about the Choctaws and the Chickasaws. The importance of peace with those tribes was well understood both by the Americans and by the Spaniards, and the latter seemed in 1788 to have succeeded better than the Americans in conciliating them.

On June 4, 1788, Alexander McGillivray, the celebrated Talapouche chief, answered the letter addressed to him on March 29 by Pickens and Matthews.³ It is a well-written and very bold paper, and does credit to McGillivray. He says the war was caused by the attempt of Georgia to take possession of the lands of the Indians. He refers to the threats made by Congress to chastise the tribe if they do not submit to conditions that are considered just and reasonable. He appeals to the sense of justice of the Americans, who should not attempt to exterminate the first inhabitants of this country and to take possession of lands that have been theirs from the beginning of time and are absolutely necessary for their subsistence. He adds that the assembly desired by the Americans may take place in September, at which time it would be found, perhaps, that their respective territories are sufficient for each proprietor, without its being necessary to usurp the neighboring lands.

On June 12, 1788, McGillivray wrote a long letter to Governor Mirò, in which he says the latter has informed him that it was the desire of the King that the Talapouche nation should make peace with the United States. McGillivray's letters are dated from Pequeño Talasée.

The Governor of Louisiana appeared to be willing to

help the Americans in their dealings with the Indians, and was also very desirous of attracting immigrants from the West, and even of separating that part of the country from the Union. In 1787 George Morgan of Pennsylvania received the grant of a large tract of land, in what is now Missouri, on which he laid in 1788 the foundation of a city, which he called New Madrid. "The extent and plan of the new city was but little, if any, inferior to the old capital which it was to commemorate. Spacious streets, extensive public squares, avenues, and promenades were tastefully laid off to magnify and adorn the future city. In less than twelve months from its first location, it had assumed, according to Major Stoddard, the appearance of a regularly built town, with numerous temporary houses distributed over a high and beautiful undulatory plain. Its latitude was determined to be 36 degrees 30 minutes north. In the centre of the site and about one mile from the Mississippi was a beautiful lake, to be inclosed by the future streets of the city." ⁴

Don Diego de Gardoqui, Spanish minister at Washington, accepted the proposition of the Baron de Steuben to settle on the banks of the Mississippi and form a colony of persons who had been lately in the army. The Spanish government, however, did not approve this plan. The state of affairs in Kentucky in 1787 and 1788 was very uncertain. The inhabitants of that district considered that they had great grievances, and "they were divided," says Judge Martin, "into no less than five parties, all of which had different if not opposite views. The first was

for independence of the United States, and the formation of a new republic, unconnected with them, which was to enter into a treaty with Spain. Another party was willing that the country should become a part of the province of Louisiana, and submit to the admission of the laws of Spain. A third desired a war with Spain, and the seizure of New Orleans. A fourth plan was to prevail on Congress, by a show of preparations for war, to extort from the cabinet of Madrid what it persisted in refusing. The last, as unnatural as the second, was to solicit France to procure a retrocession of Louisiana, and extend her protection to Kentucky.”⁵

Now appears in the history of Louisiana General James Wilkinson, a personage whose acts have given rise to numerous controversies. In his *Memoirs* he declares that he was treated with injustice and was persecuted. He was twice tried by a court martial at his own request, and twice acquitted, and he rose to the highest command in the army of the United States. He had served in the War of the Revolution, had retired from the army with the rank of colonel and brigadier-general by brevet, and in 1787 was engaged in mercantile business in Kentucky. Butler, in his *History of Kentucky*, mentions a document that General Wilkinson presented to Mirò in New Orleans, in June, 1787, in which he urges the natural right of the Western people to follow the current of the rivers flowing through their country to the sea. He sets forth the advantages that Spain might derive from allowing them the free use of the river. He describes the general abhorrence with which they received the in-

telligence that Congress was about to sacrifice their dearest interest by ceding to Spain, for twenty years, the navigation of the Mississippi; and he represents it as a fact that they are on the point of separating from the Union on that account. He addresses himself to the governor's fears by an ominous display of their strength, and argues the impolicy of Spain in being so blind to her own interest as to refuse them an amicable participation in the navigation of the river, thereby forcing them into violent measures. He mentions the facility with which the province of Louisiana might be invaded by the united forces of the English and the Americans, the former advancing from Canada by way of the Illinois River, and the latter by way of the Ohio River. Monette says on this subject: "The statement of Colonel Wilkinson, and the influence of his address and talents, were the first efficient means which led to the change of policy in the government of Louisiana. Through Colonel Wilkinson's negotiation and his diplomatic address, the governor was convinced of the policy of conciliating the Western people, and of attaching them as far as practicable to the Spanish government."⁶ Martin mentions Wilkinson as follows:

The idea of a regular trade was first conceived by General Wilkinson, who had served with distinction as an officer in the late war, and whose name is as conspicuous in the annals of the West as any other. He had connected with it a scheme for the settlement of several thousand American families in that part of the present State of Louisiana now known as the parishes of East and West Feliciana, and that of Washita, and on White River and other

streams of the present territory of Arkansas. For those services to the Spanish Government, he expected to obtain the privilege of introducing, yearly, a considerable quantity of tobacco into the Mexican market.

General Wilkinson arrived in New Orleans in June, 1787, with a cargo of tobacco, flour, butter, and bacon, which at first was seized but afterward was released and allowed to be sold without paying duty. He had an interview with Governor Mirò, and he again visited New Orleans in 1788. From that moment begins a most curious and interesting correspondence between General Wilkinson and the Spanish officials, which Judge Gayarré was the first historian to publish, and which has been reproduced nearly in full by Z. F. Smith in his *History of Kentucky*, published in 1886. Gayarré speaks severely of General Wilkinson, and it is to be admitted that he deserves censure for his expressions of devotion to the Spanish interests. The correspondence quoted by Gayarré is to be found in the copies of the Spanish manuscripts made in Seville under the superintendence of Pascual de Gayangos, and in compliance with a resolution of the Legislature of Louisiana. These are now in the custody of the Louisiana Historical Society.

The first time that General Wilkinson's name is mentioned in the Spanish documents is in a despatch from Governor Mirò, dated January 8, 1788. He speaks of the project of Don Pedro Wouver d'Argès, approved by the government, of taking from Kentucky into Louisiana several families to establish settlements. He says he fears that D'Argès's undertaking may interrupt the

principal object of Wilkinson, and he adds: "I have been reflecting many days whether it would be proper to inform D'Argès of the ideas of Wilkinson, and the latter of the errand of the former, in order to unite them, that they might work in accord with each other; but I do not dare to adopt the first idea, because D'Argès may consider that the great projects of Wilkinson might destroy the merit of his own and precipitate (a thing which is possible) the confiding of them to some one capable of having Wilkinson arrested as a criminal, and also because the latter would be greatly disgusted that another person should share a confidence on which depend his life and honor, as he himself says in his memoir. For these reasons I am not able to declare the matter to D'Argès, nor could I confide the errand of the latter to the former before knowing the intentions of His Majesty about Wilkinson. The delivery of Kentucky to His Majesty, the principal object to which Wilkinson has promised to devote himself entirely, would assure forever this province as a rampart to New Spain, for which reason I consider the project of D'Argès a misfortune." Mirò continues that commercial franchises should be given only to those individuals who have influence in that country, as was proposed in the memoir of Wilkinson, as the others, seeing those advantages, might be persuaded that the way of acquiring privileges is to become Spaniards. The governor also opposes granting to the immigrants the free exercise of their religion. They should not be molested, and perhaps the Irish priests might succeed in converting some of them, if their ministers are not allowed to come with them.

GENERAL JAMES WILKINSON

1757-1825

Commander-in-chief of the United States army and one of the commissioners of the United States to whom Louisiana was transferred from France in 1803. From a contemporary painting belonging to his great grandson, Mr. Theodore Wilkinson, New Orleans, La.



Goussier & Co. Paris

On April 11, 1788, Mirò announces the arrival at New Orleans of a pirogue containing three men sent by General Wilkinson for the sole purpose of announcing the latter's arrival in Kentucky. The governor says that he was on the point of distrusting Wilkinson's promises, as he had assured him that he would hear from him in the beginning of March. The latter relates in a letter his long and laborious journey, and in the cipher agreed upon he announces what will be seen in the accompanying translation. It is very satisfactory to see one of Wilkinson's predictions accomplished,—the separation of Kentucky from Virginia. Mirò ends his letter by saying that Wilkinson has requested that nothing be given to the men of his pirogue, as he has instructed his correspondent in New Orleans to receive them and provide for their return.

The following letter of General Wilkinson to Mirò and Navarro, transmitted by Mirò, is so interesting that we translate it in full from the Spanish:

KENTUCKY, May 15, 1788.

MY LOVED AND VENERATED SIR: I have a second time the pleasure of writing to you, and I flatter myself that you received a long time ago my first letter, which I sent by a messenger in a pirogue with two oarsmen, an answer to which I am expecting every moment.

Major Isaac Dunn, bearer of this, an old military companion of mine, came to establish himself in this country during my absence. The confidence which I have in his honor, discretion, and good talents has induced me (after having with precaution sounded his inclinations) to choose him to aid me in our political designs, which having adopted with cordiality he will then present

himself in order to confer with you about those points that may need information, and concert with you whatever means you may judge proper to make our project progress, and through him I shall be able to receive the new instructions you may deem expedient. I have also chosen him that he may bring me the product of the present cargo. For all which I beg you to permit me to recommend him to you as a safe man and as a man of judgment, who knows profoundly the political condition of the American Union, and the circumstances of this country. I wish his stay in Louisiana to be the shortest possible.

On the first day of next January, by a mutual agreement, the jurisdiction of Virginia will cease over this country. It has been stipulated, it is true, as a necessary condition of our independence, that Congress recognize us as a State of the Federal Union; but a convention has been called and members elected for the purpose of forming a constitution for this government, and I am persuaded that no action of Congress, or of the State of Virginia, will ever induce this people to abandon the plan they have adopted, although I have recent news that without doubt we shall be recognized as a sovereign State by Congress.

The Convention mentioned will meet in July. I shall make use of the time, meanwhile, in sounding opinions, and I shall judge of the influence of those who have been elected. When this has taken place (after consulting previously two or three individuals capable of helping me) I shall disclose of our great plan as much as appears to me opportune and as the circumstances require, and I am sure that it will meet with the most favorable reception, because, although I have spoken with individuals only, I have sounded the opinion of many, and wherever I have thought advisable to communicate your answer to my memorial, it has produced the keenest joy. Colonel Alexander Leatt Bullitt and Harry Innis Esquire, our attorney-general, are the only persons to whom I have confided our ideas, and in case of any mishap to me, before their accomplishment, you may surely address yourselves to these gentlemen, who agree perfectly with you in politics.

Thus, as soon as the form of government is organized and adopted by the people, they will proceed to elect a governor, a legislative body, and other officials, and I have no doubt that a political agent will be named, with power to treat of the union in which we are engaged, and I believe that these matters will be settled by the month of March next. In the mean time I hope to receive your orders, and I shall myself labor to promote what you order me.

I anticipate no obstacle on the part of Congress, because under the present confederation that body cannot dispose of men or of money, and the new government, *if it succeeds in establishing itself*, will encounter difficulties that will keep it without vigor for three or four years, before which time I have good reasons to hope we shall complete our negotiations, and we shall be too strong to be subjugated by whatever force may be sent against us. My fears, then, arise solely from the policy that may prevail in your court. I fear the change of the present ministry, and more, that of the administration of Louisiana, an event which you are able to judge better than I, and I beg you to speak to me clearly on this subject.

In my last letter I mentioned a letter I had written to Señor de Gardoqui. As I took the precaution to put it open in the hands of the Baron de Zillier, my brother-in-law and confidential friend in Philadelphia, he has informed me that, after mature reflection, he has deemed it best not to deliver it. I have applied to Mr. Clark, my agent, with regard to sending me merchandise by the Mississippi. This is a matter highly important for our wishes, because the only link that can preserve the connection of this country with the United States is the dependency in which we are necessarily to supply ourselves with those articles that are not manufactured among us; and when this people find out that this capital can supply them more conveniently through the river, this dependency will cease, and with it all motive of connection with the other side of the Appalachian Mountains. Our hopes then will be turned toward you, and all obstacles in the way of our

negotiations will disappear; for which reasons I trust that you will find it advisable to favor this measure and will have the kindness to grant to Mr. Clark the protection necessary to carry it out.

Referring you to the observations annexed, and to the information of Major Dunn for what I may have omitted, I beg you to accept my wishes for your happiness, and to believe me, with the highest and warmest personal respect and esteem, your obedient, ready, and humble servant.

On June 15, 1788, Mirò wrote a long despatch to Minister Don Antonio Valdes.⁷ He says that he forwards a translation of Wilkinson's letter; he mentions the arrival of the latter's flatboats with a cargo that cost seven thousand dollars; and he says that Major Dunn corroborated all that Wilkinson had said about the political condition of Kentucky. He has not entire confidence in his American correspondent, however, for he adds: "Although his candor and whatever informations I have obtained from many who have known him seem to assure us that he is working in all cordiality, I am aware that it is possible that it is his intention to enrich himself by means of inflating us with hopes and advantages, knowing that they will be vain."

On August 7, 1788, in a despatch to Valdes, Mirò says he has received orders to pay Don Pedro Wouver d'Argès one hundred dollars a month, from the first of January; and he wishes to obtain the approval of the King for having detained in New Orleans Gardoqui's agent. The governor writes on the same day to the Count de Floridablanca, and explains why he has not allowed D'Argès to proceed to Kentucky. He has feared to confide to him

Wilkinson's projects, and he apprehends a meeting between the two men, on account of the ambition and jealousy inherent in human nature.

D'Argès, on the other hand, writes a letter to Mirò, dated New Orleans, August 12, 1788.⁸ He says that when, in accord with the Spanish minister in New York, he determined to go to New Orleans, he arrived there in April, and expected to be going up the river in May. He asks to be allowed to proceed to Kentucky; otherwise, he asks permission to go to Martinique, where is his family and where he has a small plantation, or to be allowed to sail for France.

On August 13, Mirò answers D'Argès that he will permit him to sail for Martinique, provided he promises to return to New Orleans by February. On August 21 D'Argès announces to Mirò that he will take advantage of the first opportunity to go to Martinique, and he promises to be back in New Orleans by March, 1789. No further mention is made in our documents of this unsavory individual, whose mission, however, as indicated by the Spanish officials, is interesting, inasmuch as it gives an idea of the intrigues of the times and of the efforts that Mirò was making to protect Louisiana from the growing power of the United States.

On August 28, 1788, the governor announced that Wilkinson's agent in New Orleans had invested the product of the tobacco and an additional sum in loading a boat with provisions and dry-goods worth \$18,246 and six reales. Mirò explains how important it is that the people of the West should consider the Mississippi as the true

channel through which to receive what they need in exchange for their own productions.

The Captain-General of Havana in 1788 was Don José de Ezpeleta, who had served with distinction under Galvez in his wars against the English, had been colonel of the Regiment of Louisiana, and had become a brigadier-general. On August 28, 1788, Mirò complains to the minister of the way the captain-general has spoken of him, and takes offense at this expression: "Which is another motive for not fearing them [the Americans] so much." The governor says: "It seems to me that he should have used gentler words, as I do not believe I have shown fright, and, God be praised! since the Portuguese campaign, when I was eighteen years of age, I displayed the calmness that is required for following the military career."⁹ In the same despatch Mirò says it is evident that Ezpeleta "does not know the value and situation of Louisiana, which I am confident will be, within a few years, one of the principal dominions of America."

We have already said that Colonel George Morgan established a settlement at New Madrid in 1788. In September of that year a very interesting memorial was addressed by him from New Jersey to Don Diego Gardoqui about his future colony. His plans were grand, and he predicted that in ten years the population of the new settlement would amount to one hundred thousand souls. He asked that particular attention be paid to education, and that he be authorized to appoint a teacher for each one of the first six villages to be established, with the grant

of a piece of land for each school. He asked that he be allowed to retain the rank he held in the American army, but added that he wished for no pay unless he was employed in military service. He said his daughters would be educated in the religious house in New Orleans until their marriage or until he considered it advisable to take them to his new establishment. He concluded his memorial with a reference to the school-teachers. Those who taught in the English schools would be paid by the fathers of families; but as it would be useful to teach Spanish also, he recommended that the teachers of that language be paid a salary of one hundred dollars a year, and he added that if any salaries could be increased, it should be those of the magistrates and the schoolmasters.

In a letter to Major Dunn, dated New York, October 7, 1788, Don Diego de Gardoqui expresses his great friendship for the United States, an assurance which we can hardly believe when we consider his efforts to separate the western country from the Union. Perhaps he believed he was doing a favor to the new republic by depriving it of ambitious projects of expansion.

Mirò kept on advising his government of the progress of events in Kentucky, and on November 3, 1788, he mentioned the recent arrival in New Orleans of an old friend of the Louisianians, Oliver Pollock. The latter said he had met John Brown, a member of Congress, who said he was going to Kentucky to advocate an independent government for that region; and Mirò adds that when Brown shall see that Wilkinson and his associates are disposed to deliver themselves up to Spain, or at least

to place themselves under its protection, he will easily adhere to that plan. Such was the situation of affairs, obscure and complicated, when the year 1788 came to an end.

Charles III of Spain died on December 14, 1788, and was succeeded by his son Charles IV, who proved to be an incapable and weak ruler. Funeral ceremonies were held in New Orleans on May 7, 1789, in honor of the deceased monarch, during whose reign Louisiana had prospered considerably since the departure of O'Reilly in 1770.

In a despatch dated June 3, 1789, the governor announced the laying of the first brick for the rebuilding of the parochial church or cathedral. In the same despatch Mirò relates an interesting and curious incident in the history of Louisiana—the expulsion from the province of the Capuchin Antonio de Sedella as commissary of the Spanish Inquisition.¹⁰ The governor says he received a letter from Father Antonio, who said that in order to act with the secrecy and caution necessary in the discharge of his functions as commissary of the Inquisition it would be indispensable for him to have recourse during the night to some guards or to call on soldiers to help him in his operations. “On reading the communication of the said Capuchin,” added Mirò, “I shuddered. His Majesty has ordered that I should foster an increase of population, admitting the inhabitants living on the banks of the rivers that flow into the Ohio, for the weighty reasons which in some private letters I have exposed to his Excellency Don Antonio Valdes, and which your Ex-

cellency must have seen at the Supreme Council of State. These people were invited with the promise of not being molested in matters of religion, although the only mode of worship was to be the Catholic. The mere name of the Inquisition of New Orleans would not only suffice to restrain the emigration that is already beginning to take place, but might also cause those who have recently arrived to retire, and I even fear that, in spite of having ordered Father Sedella to leave the country, the cause may be found out and have the most fatal consequences." The King, by an order of January 9, 1788, had prohibited the establishment of the Inquisition, and Mirò determined that Father Antonio de Sedella should not carry on his "operations," as he said, in New Orleans. Therefore, in the night of April 29, 1788, the governor had the Capuchin arrested and placed on board a vessel, which sailed for Cadiz. Mirò acted with excellent judgment and great vigor on this occasion, and saved the province from grave disasters.¹¹

On January 1, 1789, General Wilkinson wrote to Gardoqui a letter of which a copy was sent to Spain by Mirò, and which is very damaging to the reputation of the American general. Those who defend the latter's memory maintain that there is no proof that the letters attributed to him were really written by him, while the testimony at the court martial exonerated him of all guilt. But there is no reason to believe that Mirò, Navarro, and Gardoqui forged the documents that present General Wilkinson in such a bad light.

In his letter to Gardoqui, Wilkinson says:¹²

In support of the latter's projects which are directed toward procuring the reciprocal happiness of the Spaniards of Louisiana and of the Americans of Kentucky, I have sacrificed voluntarily my domestic felicities, my time, my fortunes, my comfort, and what is more important I abandoned, to do so, my personal fame and political character.

In another part of the letter he makes this rather cynical reflection:

It is not necessary to suggest to a gentleman of your knowledge and experience, that the human race, in all parts of the world, is governed by its own interest, although variously modified. Some men are sordid, some vain, others ambitious. To detect the predominant passion, to lay hold of it, and to derive advantages from it, is the most profound part of political science.

On February 14, 1789, Wilkinson wrote to Mirò a long letter in which he calls himself *un buen Español*, "a good Spaniard"; and later Mirò, in a letter in cipher sent to Wilkinson through a certain Jennings, says: "According to the answer of the court, you are our agent, and I am ordered to give you hopes that the King will recompense you as I have already intimated."

Kentucky was not the only part of the United States that was seeking independence. The State of Frankland was formed from the western part of North Carolina in 1786, but terminated its existence in 1787. In 1788 Colonel John Sevier, who had been governor of the ephemeral State, wrote to Gardoqui that the inhabitants of Frankland wished to form an alliance with Spain and place themselves under her protection. The district of

Cumberland in North Carolina was named Mirò, and Dr. James White was appointed agent, by Gardoqui, to attend to the Spanish interests. Governor Mirò immediately informed Wilkinson of White's mission in Frankland and in Mirò district, and in July, 1789, he sent Pierre Foucher, a lieutenant of the Regiment of Louisiana, with a detachment, to build a fort at New Madrid and take command of that district. But the settlement never was prosperous, as Mirò did not approve of Morgan's plan of colonization, which he said would soon have established an independent republic in Louisiana.

In 1789 a company formed in South Carolina purchased from the State of Georgia a large territory extending from the Yazoo to the neighborhood of Natchez, which was claimed by the Choctaws, the Chickasaws, and Spain. General Wilkinson applied to be appointed agent of the company, but the agency was granted to Dr. O'Fallon.

The condition of affairs in Kentucky in 1790 was not favorable to Spanish interests. Washington was now President of the United States, and his wise and firm administration was binding together all the different parts of the Union. Of all the men in Kentucky who had seemed to favor Wilkinson's projects of a union with Spain, only Sebastian remained faithful to him, or rather to Mirò. On May 22, 1790, the governor recommended that Wilkinson be retained in the service of Spain with a pension of two thousand dollars, and that a pension be granted also to Sebastian, "as that individual might enlighten me much on the conduct of the said brigadier-

general, and on what we may expect from his projects." That letter of Mirò practically closed his connection with Wilkinson with regard to the separation of the western districts from the Union. Mirò and Carondelet, a little later, will try in vain to revive the plan of Gardoqui, and Aaron Burr will have a dazzling dream of the formation of an immense empire of which he shall be the chief. The young Republic, with Washington at its head, was becoming more powerful every day, and soon there was no danger of any part of the Union being absorbed into Spanish Louisiana. On the contrary, Spain was about to relinquish her hold on the Mississippi, and the mighty river was to be an American stream, from its source to its mouth, and Louisiana, with her charming New Orleans, was soon to become an integral part of the United States.

On July 23, 1790, the ayuntamiento, or cabildo, of Louisiana addressed to the King an interesting communication about a royal schedule concerning the slaves. It respectfully represents that the separation of the sexes during the hours of work would cause the greatest injury to the masters, as very often it was necessary to have all the hands at work at the same place to plant the crop or to gather it. Besides, most of the planters have only a few slaves, and with their sons work with them in the fields and see that they behave properly. It is not possible also that they should not work on some days of religious feasts, as the necessity of gathering the crop makes this imperative sometimes. With regard to their amusements, after they have attended to their religious duties, if they

are not allowed to go to the neighboring plantations, and if the sexes are kept apart, the negroes will be in despair and will go to any extremes to break such a heavy chain.¹³

The question of the marriage of the slaves is the most important and difficult. There are at present in Louisiana a number of persons from other countries, and of persons living in the districts conquered from the English, and it is not the custom with them to allow marriage of the slaves. This is done only in the Spanish colonies. There have been few marriages between the slaves, in spite of all efforts; and to compel them to be married by the church would cause a general discontent and bring about very serious consequences. They consider marriage a double slavery and a source of trouble when they observe the continual quarrels that arise between the married people of that race. Finally, it would be imprudent to enforce that clause of the schedule which says that the masters might be taken to the courts of justice on the complaint of the slaves. It would diminish the authority of the masters and make them lose a great deal of time, as very often futile charges would be brought against them. We see by this document that the King of Spain had very humane ideas, but, according to the *cabildo*, they were not practicable at that time.

In a despatch of Mirò, dated January 17, 1791,¹⁴ he gives a detailed account of the imports into Louisiana in the year 1790, amounting to \$66,163,425. On September 20, 1791, he says that, according to the royal order, he will prevent the introduction into the colony of boxes,

clocks, or pieces of coin with the figure of a woman clad in white and holding a banner in her hand with the inscription, "American Liberty." Governor Mirò could prevent the emblem of American liberty from entering Spanish Louisiana, but it was not possible to prevent liberty itself from reaching New Orleans, where, twelve years later, the banner held in the hand of the woman clad in white was to wave triumphant in the very center of the old French and Spanish town.

In August, 1791, an insurrection of the negroes broke out at Santo Domingo, and terrible massacres of the whites took place. A number of people escaped from the island, and some came to New Orleans. Among them was a troupe of comedians from Cap Français, who gave dramatic representations and were the first actors in Louisiana.¹⁵

In the year 1791 Don Estevan Mirò sailed for Spain. He had been appointed brigadier-general while governor of Louisiana, and after his return to Spain he rose to the rank of mariscal de campo, or major-general, in the Spanish army. Although he was not as brilliant as his predecessor, Galvez, his administration was prosperous, and the colonists regretted his departure. He encouraged commerce with the United States, and treated the colonists gently. "He had," says Judge Gayarré, "a sound judgment, a high sense of honor, and an excellent heart; he had received a fair college education, knew several languages, and was remarkable for his strict morality and his indefatigable industry." It is impossible to believe that such a man would have forged the

documents, referred to above, relating to General Wilkinson. Judge Gayarré's testimony regarding the authenticity of these papers is this:

When Secretary of State, I obtained from our Legislature, after the most vigorous exertions, an appropriation of \$2000 for the purpose of having the archives of Spain examined, and having copies made of such historical papers as might concern Louisiana. The gigantic difficulty in the way was, to obtain the desired permission from the over-cautious and suspicious government to which I had to apply. I soon discovered that I had undertaken a labor from which Hercules himself might have shrunk in dismay. It necessitated a negotiation that threatened to be endless. It led to a long correspondence, which I perseveringly conducted until success crowned my efforts. That correspondence, with the exception of what was confidential and strictly private, was published by order of the State, and was lately republished by a committee of the House of Representatives. It thus became a Congressional document, to which anybody can have access. The Spanish papers were procured by me in my official capacity, under the sanction and at the expense of the State, in whose archives they were deposited after I had, with her permission, used them for the composition of my history.

Those manuscripts are now in the custody of the Louisiana Historical Society, and are the basis of the present work.

Don Pascual de Gayangos, under whose direction the copies were made, was a distinguished literary man. In Vol. II of the manuscripts he says in a note:

The despatches of Mirò, which, for the subjects treated and the time during which he commanded, are the most important, are un-

fortunately scattered without order in different archives—some in Seville, others in Simancas; the greater part in Madrid in the archives of the Ministries. At the Ministry of State is to be found almost all his private correspondence on the subject of settlements and with regard to Don Jayme Wilkinson; but as it has not been permitted to make copies from the archives, as much as could be found in other departments has been extracted and copied with the greatest diligence.

CHAPTER VI

CARONDELET'S ADMINISTRATION

Governor Carondelet—Regulations about the slaves—William Augustus Bowles—Extension of commercial franchises—Internal improvements—Fortifications—The parochial church—The Carondelet canal—Intendant Francisco de Rendon—The "Moniteur de la Louisiane"—Genet's schemes—Terrible conflagration—Sugar-cane—Étienne de Boré—The ecclesiastical jurisdictions—Treaty with the United States—Grants of lands to French royalists—Insurrection of slaves—Fort at the Great Osages—War against Great Britain—Epidemic in 1796—Capture of the Balize—New Orleans lighted and patrolled—Application of Indians for lands—Inundation—Surrender of Natchez to the Americans.



ON ESTEVAN MIRÒ was succeeded on December 30, 1791, by Don Francisco Luis Hector, Baron de Carondelet. He was appointed on March 13, 1791, and was at that time Governor of San Salvador in Guatemala. His salary as governor and intendant of Louisiana was to be four thousand dollars, and it was stipulated that the governors of Pensacola and Mobile were to be under his immediate orders. He was a native of Flanders, and was a man of great ability. On January 22, 1792, he published his *bando de buen gobierno*. "Among the new regulations it introduced, it provided for the division of the city of New Orleans into four wards, in each of which an *alcalde de*

barrio, or commissary of police, was to be appointed.” “The *alcaldes de barrio* were directed to take charge of fire-engines and their implements and to command the fire and axmen companies, in case of conflagration. They were also empowered to preserve the peace, and to take cognizance of small debts.”¹

On July 11, 1792, according to instructions from the King, Carondelet issued the following regulations with regard to the slaves:

1. That each slave should receive monthly, for his food, one barrel of corn, at least.

2. That every Sunday should be exclusively his own, without his being compelled to work for his master, except in urgent cases, when he must be paid or indemnified.

3. That, on other days, the slaves should not begin to work before daybreak, nor continue after dark. One half hour to be allowed at breakfast, and two hours at dinner.

4. Two brown shirts, a woolen coat and pantaloons, and a pair of linen pantaloons, and two handkerchiefs, to be allowed yearly to each male slave, and suitable dresses to female slaves.

5. None to be punished with more than thirty lashes within twenty-four hours.

6. Delinquents to be fined in the sum of one hundred dollars, and in grave cases the slave may be ordered to be sold to another.

It was prohibited to import negroes from the French and British West India Islands, but the King later expressed his desire to see negroes imported from Africa, and he encouraged this trade.

On September 15, 1792, Carondelet mentioned having captured in New Orleans, on March 12, Captain William Augustus Bowles, and having sent him to Cadiz.² This celebrated adventurer was born in Maryland, and when the War of the Revolution broke out he entered the English army at the age of fourteen years. In 1777 he was dismissed from his regiment for insubordination. He was at that time in Florida, and he entered the tribe of the Talapouches, or Creeks, and married the daughter of one of the chiefs. In 1781 he reëntered the English army and made war against the Spaniards, but he was unable to submit to military discipline, and returned among the Creeks. For some time he led the life of a corsair, capturing several Spanish merchant vessels. He was unremitting in his hostility against the Spaniards until taken prisoner by Carondelet in 1792. He was kept in Spain for some time, then was sent to Manila, and in 1797 escaped to England, where he was received by the Duke of Portland and kindly treated by the government. He returned to America and resumed his hostilities against the Spaniards until he was finally captured and sent to Morro Castle in Havana, where he died. The life of Bowles is a real romance, and Perrin du Lac considers him a great man and a patriot.³ His influence with the Creeks, however, was not as great as that of Alexander McGillivray, the friend of the Spaniards, who died on February 17, 1793.

In June, 1793, the commerce of Louisiana was favored with the extension of the commercial franchises that had been conceded by the royal schedule of 1782, and Caron-

delet relaxed as much as possible the rigor of the Spanish regulations concerning commerce.⁴ The governor was endeavoring to promote the prosperity of the colony by attending to internal improvements, such as the lighting of New Orleans and the employment of watchmen; but in 1793 he was placed in an embarrassing situation by the republican spirit that was manifested in Louisiana.

The great events of the French Revolution exerted an influence in the province, which was thrown into a state of agitation by the news of the execution of Louis XVI, on January 21, 1793. Carondelet forbade the exhibition at the theater of martial dances to revolutionary airs, and had six individuals arrested and sent to Havana for expressing republican principles. In order to guard against any insurrection or foreign attack, the governor had new fortifications erected around New Orleans. Forts, redoubts, batteries, and palisades were constructed, and deep ditches were dug.

The friendship of the Indians was also secured by an offensive and defensive treaty made on October 28, 1793, through Colonel Gayoso de Lemos, governor of Natchez, with the Chickasaws, the Creeks, the Cherokees, and the Alibamons, and twenty thousand Indians, it was thought, could be opposed, if needed, to the Americans.

Carondelet tried to reduce the expenses of the administration of Louisiana, and in a long communication to his Government he gave his opinion about the reductions that could wisely be made.⁵ He recommended that the expenses of the hospital be reduced, and said that the number of patients attended to every day was about

DON FRANCISCO LOUIS HECTOR, BARON DE
CARONDELET DE NOYELLES, SEIGNEUR
D'HAINÉ SAINT PIERRE

1747-1807

Sixth Spanish Governor of Louisiana and afterward Viceroy of Peru. From a contemporary painting belonging to the Duc de Bailen, Madrid, one of his lineal descendants.



seventy. He was more generous with regard to the Ursulines, and said that the \$1896 paid them could not be diminished in any way. The same recommendation was made with regard to the salaries of the two Spanish schoolmasters, who received the munificent sum of \$1050—for both. Carondelet was evidently doing the best he could for the cause of education in Louisiana.

On January 18, 1794, the governor wrote a long and interesting letter to the Duke de la Alcudia. He mentioned that when he arrived in Louisiana he found the province without any protection whatever, as the few forts were in ruins, and the artillery in poor condition. As to the river, of which the Americans claimed the navigation, it was defended by one single galley (*galera*), in poor condition. In less than two years he had placed New Orleans in a respectable state of defense against the foreigners, and also against insurgents, as Fort St. Charles could destroy the city. He built Fort St. Philip near the mouth of the river, which could prevent foreign ships, whatever their number, from advancing, and erected also Fort Nogales on the land acquired from the Choctaws. Six galleys and two galliots (*galeotas*) protect the Mississippi as far as the Ohio,—that is to say, a distance of five hundred leagues,—and impress the warlike Indian tribes that dwell in these regions with the power of Spain. By a treaty with the Choctaws which has cost less than one thousand dollars, navigation on Mobile River has been extended sixty leagues beyond Fort Tombecbé, and friendship with the Choctaws assured. The latter tribe have at least ten thousand war-

riors, and their good will extends the influence of the King as far as the Yazoo country, which the Americans are trying to usurp. Carondelet refers again to the extraordinary talents of Bowles, then he mentions the turbulent spirit of some Frenchmen, whose letters he has intercepted, and he says the parochial church is unfinished and hopes that the bishop, who will soon arrive in New Orleans, will induce Don Andres Almonester to complete the church. He himself is not on good terms with Don Andres.

Carondelet seemed to be indefatigable. On February 24, 1794, he addressed another communication to Don Diego Gardoqui, who was now one of the ministers in Spain. The governor gives the fullest details about everything concerning the colony. He says the cabildo house has not yet been rebuilt, and he recommends that a canal be constructed, half a league long, which would cost from \$25,000 to \$30,000, from the city to Bayou St. John, for drainage and sanitary purposes. If the canal was not dug, the city would have to be abandoned, as it would be finally in a hollow from which the waters would have no egress. The canal referred to was completed in 1796 and named Carondelet by the cabildo, a name that it still bears. The expenses for propitiating the Indians amounted annually to \$55,209.

In the year 1794 the offices of governor and intendant were separated, and Don Francisco de Rendon arrived in Louisiana as intendant.

In 1794 the "Moniteur de la Louisiane" was published; it was the first newspaper in Louisiana, and its

appearance indicated that new ideas were penetrating into the colony. Indeed, French Jacobins in Philadelphia circulated in Louisiana an address in which the colonists were urged to establish an independent government. At the same time the French minister to the United States, Genet, endeavored to prepare an expedition in the West against the Spanish provinces. His principal agent in Kentucky was Auguste de la Chaise, a native of Louisiana, and a man of great intrepidity and energy, who died, in 1803, a general in the French army at Santo Domingo. Genet's schemes were frustrated by Washington.

The earliest number of the "Moniteur de la Louisiane" known to be in existence is No. 26.⁶ It is dated Monday, August 25, of the "common year," and is a four-page octavo paper, two columns on each page. It begins with a few local notices, such as the following: "A vendre, deux arpens de terre cultivable, sur 8 de profondeur, appartenant à l'habitation des Demoiselles Devergès, près de la ville dans le chemin du Bayou. Celui qui voudra en faire l'acquisition, s'adressera aux dites D^lles. qui feront crédit jusqu'à la fin de cette année." "From letters worthy of belief" news is given of a battle on April 26 between the French and the Allies, and of the probable advance of the latter against Paris. "It is certain that nothing could prevent the army of the Prince of Coburg, which consists of one hundred and fifty thousand men, from penetrating as far as Paris, and from causing there a revolution that would annihilate the barbarous despotism of the Robespierres and Barreres under which France

has fallen by a fatality without example." It is evident that the editor of the "Moniteur" was not one of the Jacobins who were giving Carondelet so much trouble in New Orleans. The paper then gives news of a storm at Natchez on August 11, which upset the pirogues on the river and threw down the corn; then European news through Havana, and an extract from the *Gazette* of Madrid. Among the important news is the following: "On May 3, the famous Count Destaing terminated at Paris his brilliant career under the knife of the guillotine." This number ends with the beginning of a very energetic letter to "a so-called planter of Bayou Sara," from a person, evidently a physician, who says that one should simplify, as much as possible, the instruments and the remedies, and even know how to substitute at the right time equivalent means in order to relieve the patient in interior as well as in exterior diseases. The "Moniteur" was from the press of L. Duclot, with permission and privilege of "Mgr. le Gouverneur."

On December 8, 1794, New Orleans was again devastated by a terrible conflagration, as in 1788.⁷ The fire broke out at two o'clock in the afternoon in Royal Street; it was started by some boys who were playing in the yard of Don Francisco Mayronne, next to a hay-store; and as there was a brisk wind, the fire became so fierce that in less than three hours two hundred and twelve houses and stores were reduced to ashes, including a powder-magazine. Two stores were also destroyed in which some soldiers were lodged and where were sixteen hundred barrels of flour, the only ones in the town, and

which belonged to the government. The following were also burned: sixty-seven gun-carriages and other artillery implements, the prison, the provisional church, the house in which the Capuchins lived, the barracks of the dragoons, the stables and servants' quarters of the government house, and many other buildings. The St. Louis redoubt suffered considerably, in spite of the efforts of the troops and of the people, and the fire stopped only when it lacked fuel. The city, which had just recovered from the fire of 1788, and had been afflicted within the past three months with three hurricanes, was left in a deplorable condition, as one third of the houses, the best in the city, were burned. All the houses and stores of the merchants were destroyed, except two.

The governor sent for one thousand barrels of flour from Havana, and procured flour also from Vera Cruz and from the United States, and endeavored to obtain voluntary subscriptions from Havana to aid the people of New Orleans. Carondelet feared that the enemies of the Spaniards might take advantage of the calamities of the province to excite an insurrection, and he assured the people that the King, who intended to spend a million dollars to rebuild the capital of Guatemala, would be willing to give a certain amount to the unfortunate inhabitants of New Orleans. In order to avoid such conflagrations, Carondelet proposed that premiums be given to those who in rebuilding their houses should cover them with roofs of tiles. "At present," he said, "the houses are covered with roofs of shingles, and when they take fire they spread it to buildings sometimes very dis-

tant, and the breaking down of houses adjoining the fire does not put a stop to it."

The year 1794 was marked by an event that was to exert a great influence on the welfare of Louisiana; this was the planting of sugar-cane by Étienne de Boré, which was to result in the first successful manufacture of sugar in the province, at least on a large scale. In 1751 the Jesuits introduced the sugar-cane into Louisiana from Santo Domingo; but neither they nor Dubreuil, the wealthy planter, had been successful in making well-granulated sugar. Judge Gayarré says:⁸

The manufacture of sugar had been abandoned since 1766, as being unsuited to the climate, and only a few individuals continued to plant canes in the neighborhood of New Orleans, to be sold to the market of that town. It is true that two Spaniards, Mendez and Solis, had lately given more extension to the planting of that reed, but they had never succeeded in manufacturing sugar. One of them boiled its juice into syrup, and the other distilled it into a spirituous liquor, of a very indifferent quality, called taffia.

It has been asserted that Don Antonio Mendez, referred to by Gayarré, was the first to succeed in granulating sugar, on his plantation in St. Bernard parish. This, however, has generally been attributed to Étienne de Boré, and Gayarré, who was his grandson, gives, in his History of Louisiana, interesting details of Boré's success. The latter is mentioned also by Judge Martin as being the first successful sugar-manufacturer in Louisiana, and there seems to be no reasonable doubt on this point.

The cultivation of indigo had been for a long time the most remunerative, but, owing to a succession of hurricanes, and to the appearance of an insect which had done great harm to the plant, the crops failed utterly in 1793 and 1794, and the planters of Louisiana saw themselves on the brink of ruin. It was then (in 1794) that Étienne de Boré resolved to cultivate the sugar-cane on a larger scale than ever in the province.⁹

Jean Étienne de Boré was born at Kaskaskia, in the Illinois district, on December 27, 1741. His father, Louis de Boré, was of an old Norman family, and his mother was Thérèse Céleste Carrière de Montbrun. He was descended from Robert de Boré, who had been one of the councilors of Louis XIV, director-general of the post-office department, and one of the stewards of the King's household. As was the custom in the colony, Jean Étienne de Boré's parents sent him to France to be educated. He received the training of a military school, which may account for the self-reliance and firmness of character that were to render his name forever memorable in the history of Louisiana. On leaving school he entered the celebrated corps of the *mousquetaires*, or guardsmen, and in 1768 he came to Louisiana, on leave of absence, to see about his property in the colony. It was the very year when Lafrénière and his brave companions had tried to free the province from the yoke of Spain and to establish an independent government in Louisiana. Boré returned to France in 1769, and received from Louis XV his commission as captain of cavalry. He married, in 1771, the daughter of Destré-

han, ex-treasurer of Louisiana during the French domination, and, as his wife had some property in the colony, he resigned his commission and returned to Louisiana, which was beginning to prosper under the mild rule of Governor Unzaga.

Étienne de Boré settled on a plantation in St. Charles parish, which he exchanged for one about six miles above New Orleans. That plantation comprised the land where were later Burtheville, Bloomingdale, and Hurstville, merged afterward in the city of New Orleans, and what is now Audubon Park formed its upper limit. In 1794 Étienne de Boré, like all the planters in the colony, had lost a great deal of money by the failure of the indigo crop. He resolved, therefore, to undertake the cultivation of sugar-cane, being confident that sugar could be manufactured in Louisiana. He bought a quantity of cane from Mendez and Solis, and planted it on his land, notwithstanding the opposition of his friends and relatives, and especially of his wife, whose father had been unsuccessful in attempts to manufacture sugar. A gentleman named Morim, from Santo Domingo, who was then in New Orleans, went to see Boré, and found him in his field planting his cane. Morim told him he had come to inform him that he could not succeed in manufacturing sugar in Louisiana, because the climate was so cold that the cane would never be ripe enough to produce a sufficient quantity of saccharine matter. Boré listened to him attentively, and made this characteristic reply: "I am very much obliged to you, sir, for your kindness in trying to induce me to abandon an undertaking which you

believe to be rash and injudicious; but, as you see, my sugar-house is being built, my canes are almost all planted, and I have incurred two thirds of the expenses necessary for this year's crop, therefore I should lose much more by abandoning my canes than by attempting to grind them. Besides, I am convinced that I am right and that I shall succeed." Morim, seeing that Boré's decision was irrevocable, asked him to take him as his sugar-maker, and his offer was accepted. In 1795 Boré ground his cane, and, after a moment of anxious suspense, the sugar-maker, says Judge Gayarré, cried out, "It granulates!" These two words rang through Louisiana, and in a short time fields green with cane, and sugar-houses in full operation, could be seen all about. With his first crop Boré made one hundred hogsheads of sugar. He sold his sugar at twelve and one half cents a pound, and his molasses at fifty cents a gallon, and made a profit of \$12,000. Étienne de Boré died on his plantation, twenty-four years after his great success, and left a fortune of \$100,000 to each of his three daughters. He became in 1803 the first mayor of New Orleans when the cabildo was abolished by the French colonial prefect Laussat.¹⁰

During the French domination Louisiana was under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Bishop of Quebec; but after the Spaniards had taken possession of the province the jurisdiction was transferred to the see of Santiago de Cuba, of which the head was Bishop Echevarria. Father Cirilo was made a bishop and auxiliary to the Bishop of Santiago de Cuba in 1781, and remained in

New Orleans until 1793. In 1790 the bishopric of Santiago de Cuba was divided; the southern portion of Cuba became an archbishopric, and the northern portion, with the two Floridas and Louisiana, formed the bishopric of Havana.¹¹ In 1793 Louisiana and the Floridas were formed into a new bishopric, and Don Luis de Peñalver y Cardenas was appointed the first bishop. He arrived in New Orleans on July 17, 1795, and St. Louis Church was made his cathedral. Bishop Peñalver remained in Louisiana until 1801, when he was made Archbishop of Guatemala.

In 1795 the cabildo asked for the creation of six more offices of regidor, and the request was granted by the King in 1797. In the same year (1795) Carondelet was again actively engaged in intrigues for the separation of the West from the Union. He employed as emissary Thomas Power, an Englishman who had been naturalized a Spaniard, and to further his plans he counted principally on Wilkinson, Sebastian, Innis, Murray, and Nicholas. He sent Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos to New Madrid to hold a conference with some of the Americans named above, but Sebastian was the only one that met Gayoso de Lemos. He proceeded to Natchez, and then to New Orleans, and went later to Philadelphia by sea, to return to Kentucky. Martin and Gayarré say that Wilkinson received ten thousand dollars from Carondelet through Power, but the writer has seen no official document confirming this fact. The intrigues with the West were fortunately brought to a close at that time by a treaty, which was signed on October 20, 1795. The principal stipulations were as follows;¹²

The second article stipulates that the future boundary between the United States and the Floridas shall be the thirty-first parallel of north latitude, from the Mississippi eastward to the Chattahoochee River; thence along a line running due east, from the mouth of Flint River to the head of the St. Mary's River, and thence down the middle of that river to the Atlantic Ocean; and that within six months after the ratification of the treaty, the troops and garrisons of each power shall be withdrawn to its own side of the boundary, and the people shall be at liberty to return with all their effects, if they desire so to do.

The fourth article stipulates that the middle of the Mississippi River shall be the western boundary of the United States, from its source to the intersection of the said line of demarcation. The King of Spain also stipulates that the whole width of said river, from its source to the sea, shall be free to the people of the United States.

The King of Spain stipulates and agrees to permit the people of the United States, for the term of three years, to use the port of New Orleans as a place of deposit for their produce and merchandise, and to export the same free from all duty or charge, except a reasonable consideration to be paid for storage and other incidental expenses; that the term of three years may, by subsequent negotiation, be extended, or instead, some other point in the island of New Orleans shall be designated as a place of deposit for the American trade. Other commercial advantages were likewise held out as within the reach of negotiation.

Large grants of land in Louisiana were made at that time (1795) to three French royalists—the Marquis de Maison Rouge, the Baron de Bastrop, and Jacques Céran de Lassus de St. Vrain. Carondelet was endeavoring, by all possible means, to render the province prosperous, but it was in great danger from an insurrection of the slaves in 1795. This began on Julien Poydras's plantation in Pointe Coupée parish, and the murder of all the whites was planned. Carondelet, however, repressed the insurrection very severely. The cabildo, on February 29, 1796, requested the governor to ask that the importation of slaves into the province be prohibited, and to issue a provisional proclamation to that effect, and this he did.

On December 1, 1796, the intendant, Don Juan Ventura Morales, in a despatch to Don Diego Gardoqui, announced the establishment of a fort in the village of the Great Osages, at the expense of Don Augusto Chouteau. This fort was called Carondelet, and was constructed in 1794 by Renato Augusto Chouteau, an inhabitant and merchant of St. Louis of the Illinois, who, aided by his brother Don Pedro, represented to the government the necessity of establishing among the Indians a fort that might restrain the young warriors, punish murderers, and effect restitution of stolen property. Chouteau offered to furnish four cannon and four swivel-guns and a garrison of twenty men, for whom the King should pay one hundred dollars a year for each man. Chouteau was to be governor of the fort; and, to compensate him for his expenses, he was to receive the exclusive right of trade

with the Osages from December, 1794, to November, 1800. These conditions were approved by Governor Carondelet, and Chouteau constructed the fort.

On October 7, 1796, Spain declared war against Great Britain, and Carondelet displayed great activity in putting the colony in a state of defense. In the same month of October Intendant Morales announced the breaking out of an epidemic, which had occurred in the latter part of August. This was probably the first appearance of yellow fever in New Orleans, and it produced great consternation.

In a despatch of Bishop Peñalver occurs the following interesting mention of the Ursuline nuns:¹³

Excellent results are obtained from the Convent of the Ursulines, in which a good many girls are educated; but their inclinations are so decidedly French, that they have even refused to admit among them Spanish women who wished to become nuns, so long as these applicants should remain ignorant of the French idiom, and they have shed many tears on account of their being obliged to read in Spanish books their spiritual exercises, and to comply with the other duties of their community in the manner prescribed to them.

On October 13, 1795, a French privateer, *La Parisienne*, captured the Balize, and held it until October 21, 1795. In 1796 Carondelet succeeded in having the city of New Orleans lighted and patrolled. He had eighty lamps placed in the streets, and formed a police force of thirteen *serenos*, or watchmen.

In November, 1796, the French general Collot arrived in New Orleans. He had visited the province and writ-

ten a description of its military resources and of the customs of its inhabitants. Carondelet, supposing that he had a private mission against the interests of Spain, had him arrested. He sent him to the Balize, where the general embarked for Philadelphia, after a stay of nearly two months at the mouth of the river.

In 1797 Don Diego Gardoqui was appointed ambassador to Turin, and his successor as minister of State was Don Pedro Varelay Ulloa.¹⁴ On March 31, 1797, Intendant Morales announced to Minister Ulloa that one hundred and seventy Cherokee Indians had applied to the commandant at New Madrid for lands within the limits of the King of Spain's possessions, and also three hundred and ninety-five Alibamon Indians had made the same request at New Orleans to Governor Carondelet, who had established them in the Opelousas district. On June 30, 1797, Morales announced an inundation of the Mississippi, which did great damage at St. Geneviève and almost ruined New Madrid, according to the statement of the commandant, Don Carlos Dehault de Lassus.

By the treaty of 1795 between Spain and the United States, it had been stipulated that commissioners and surveyors, duly appointed by each government, were to ascertain the line of demarcation between the United States and the Spanish possessions, and then the troops of Spain were to be withdrawn from the country north of the line. Colonel Andrew Ellicott was appointed commissioner for the United States, and Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos for Spain. Colonel Ellicott went to Nat-

chez and began his observations to establish the line, but Gayoso and Carondelet delayed the delivery of the country to the American commissioner, and Carondelet, on May 31, 1797, issued a proclamation in French, of which Intendant Morales sent a copy to his government. It declared that the government, having been informed by the Spanish minister to the United States that an expedition setting out from the Lakes was to attack the Illinois country this year, has judged proper, for the security of Lower Louisiana, to suspend the evacuation, already begun, of the posts of Natchez and Nogales. As these are the only ones that protect it, their evacuation would enable the English to ravage it, in case they rendered themselves masters of Upper Louisiana, with so much the more facility as, by an article of the treaty concluded later with Great Britain, the United States recognize that the English may frequent the posts belonging to the United States situated on the rivers, lakes, etc.—a manifest contradiction of the treaty concluded with Spain, which it appears to annul, as the United States recognized by that treaty that no other nation could navigate the Mississippi without the consent of Spain. Although the justice of the suspension of the evacuation has been communicated to the Congress of the United States, to the American commissioner, and to the commander of the detachment of American troops, a detachment of the army stationed on the Ohio is marching by the Holstein toward Natchez, and the militia of the Cumberland have received orders to be ready to march at the first notice.

These hostile dispositions, the threats of the commis-

sioner of limits and of the American commander of the detachment at Natchez, the rumored rupture between "France, our intimate ally, and the United States,—everything persuades us to be ready to defend our homes with that valor, that energy, which the inhabitants of these provinces have displayed on all occasions; with that advantage and that superiority which are procured by the knowledge and the habit of the locality, that confidence which is inspired by right and justice. If the Congress of the United States has no hostile intention against these provinces, let it leave to them the posts of Natchez and Nogales, the only barriers of Lower Louisiana that can put a stop to the incursions of the English, or let it give us securities against the article of the treaty with Great Britain, which exposes Lower Louisiana to be pillaged and sacked as far as the capital. We shall then deliver the said posts to it, and we shall lay down the arms which it compels us to take by arming its militia in time of peace, and sending a considerable body of troops by roundabout routes to surprise us."

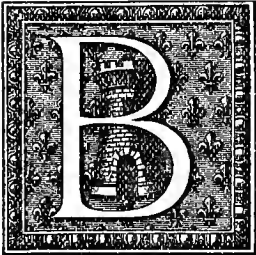
The free navigation of the Mississippi was conceded to Great Britain by the United States, by the treaty of London, November 19, 1794, nearly a year previous to the treaty of Madrid of 1795, and Carondelet's interesting proclamation does not appear to have been as truthful as he pretends. The people of the district ceded to the United States rose against Gayoso de Lemos on June 9, 1797, and the Spanish commandant was soon confined to the small compass of the fort. On June 14 he issued a proclamation promising "a pardon to all who repented

of their misdeeds, and, as an evidence of repentance, abstained from all acts calculated to disturb the public peace.”¹⁵ The people were highly indignant at the word “repentance,” and opposition to the Spanish Government became still greater. There were, however, no acts of violence, and on July 26, 1797, Gayoso de Lemos received his commission as Governor-General of Louisiana and Florida. He left Natchez for New Orleans, and appointed Captain Stephen Minor temporary commandant of the fort. Carlos de Grandpré was appointed lieutenant-governor of Natchez; but as he was not popular with the people, Captain Minor continued to act as commandant. General Wilkinson, who had succeeded Wayne as commander-in-chief, sent Captain Guion with a reinforcement to take command of the American troops at Natchez. Finally, in January, 1798, instructions were received by the Spanish commandant for the evacuation of Fort Nogales and Fort Panmure at Natchez, and in March they surrendered to the Americans. By an act of Congress approved April 7, 1798, the territory surrendered was erected into the Mississippi Territory, and on August 26 General Wilkinson established his headquarters at Natchez. There had been negotiations between him and Thomas Power in 1797, “but,” says Monette, “General Wilkinson had already proceeded too far in his treasonable intrigues and correspondence with the Spanish governor, and the suspicions of his own government rested upon him. Hence, in the summer of 1797, he had given to Mr. Powers¹⁶ a cold reception.”

CHAPTER VII

THE LAST YEARS OF THE SPANISH DOMINATION THE TREATY OF ST. ILDEFONSO

Governor Gayoso de Lemos—The Duke d'Orléans and his brothers—Fort Adams—Concordia—Intendant Morales abolishes the "right of deposit" at New Orleans—Quarrels of Gayoso de Lemos and Morales—Important despatches of Morales—Death of Governor Gayoso de Lemos—Governor Casa Calvo—Sentence against Carondelet by the "judge of residence"—Slaves from Africa again admitted—Census of Upper Louisiana in 1799—Louisiana retroceded to France—Failure of the French expedition to Santo Domingo—Treaty of Amiens—Bernadotte—Victor and Laussat—System of government for Louisiana.



BRIGADIER-GENERAL MANUEL GAYOSO DE LEMOS succeeded the Baron de Carondelet as Governor of Louisiana and of the Floridas. Carondelet was appointed President of the Royal Audience of Quito. His administration had been businesslike, vigilant, and judicious. Governor Gayoso de Lemos assumed office on August 1, 1797, but did not publish his *bando de buen gobierno* till January, 1798. It contained no important new regulation. He published also a set of instructions to commandants about grants of land. Some of the instructions certainly were wise, such as the following:¹ "No grant of land is to be made to any unmarried emigrant who has neither trade

nor property, until after a residence of four years, during which time he must have been employed in the culture of the ground. But if, after a residence of two years, such a person should marry the daughter of an honest farmer, with his consent and by him recommended, a grant of land may be made to him. In Upper Louisiana no settler is to be admitted who is not a farmer or a mechanic."

The following regulations were very intolerant: "Liberty of conscience is not to be extended beyond the first generation; the children of the emigrant must be Catholic; and emigrants not agreeing to this must not be admitted, but removed, even when they bring property with them. This is to be explained to settlers who do not profess the Catholic religion. It is expressly recommended to commandants to watch that no preacher of any religion but the Catholic comes into the province."

In the beginning of the year 1798 three illustrious visitors arrived in New Orleans: they were the Duke d'Orléans and his two brothers, the Duke de Montpensier and the Count de Beaujolais. They were the sons of the late Duke d'Orleans, Philippe—Égalité, who, as a member of the Convention, had voted for the death of Louis XVI, the chief of his house, and had himself been executed during the troublous times of the French Revolution. Philippe—Égalité was a great-grandson of Philippe d'Orléans, Regent of France, for whom the city of New Orleans had been named. The descendants of the Regent of France, now in exile, were received magnificently in New Orleans, and were entertained prin-

cipally, during their stay in Louisiana, by Bernard de Marigny, Julien Poydras, and Étienne de Boré. The two brothers of the Duke d'Orléans died young, but the duke himself became Louis—Philippe, King of the French, in 1830, and reigned until February, 1848.

When the Mississippi Territory was organized by Congress, in 1798, Winthrop Sargent was appointed governor. General Wilkinson, who had established his headquarters at Natchez, transferred them to Loftus Heights, or Roche à Davion, and built Fort Adams. Amicable relations then began between the Americans and the Spaniards; and the Spanish commandant, Don Nicolas Maria Vidal, at the post opposite to Natchez, gave the name of "Concordia" to the fort that was erected on the west side of the river, opposite Fort Panmure on the east side. On account of the increase of the commerce of New Orleans, Daniel Clark, Jr., was recognized by the Spanish governor as temporary consul of the United States. Evan Jones was later appointed permanent consul.

The era of good feeling between the United States and Spanish Louisiana was not to be of long duration, for the intendant Morales issued a proclamation on July 17, 1799, concerning grants of land, which was considered hostile to emigrants from the United States. Morales also abolished the right of deposit at New Orleans, as three years had elapsed since the ratification of the treaty of Madrid, which had guaranteed that right to the Americans. By the treaty the King of Spain bound himself, at the expiration of three years, to extend the time, or to designate some other suitable point within the island of

New Orleans as a place of deposit. Intendant Morales designated no other suitable point; the Western people were greatly excited, and President Adams for some time thought of a campaign against Louisiana. Fortunately, the interdict of Morales was disavowed by the King, and the right of deposit was restored in 1800 by Don Ramon de Lopez, the successor of Morales.

In 1799 Intendant Morales disagreed with Governor Gayoso de Lemos, as the *commissaire ordonnateur* used to disagree with the governor during the French domination. Morales, in several despatches, accuses Gayoso de Lemos of being generous at the expense of the King, and of abuse of power. Morales mentions also the arrival in New Orleans of General Wilkinson, who had been called to Washington by President Adams. He says the two thousand dollars paid annually to Don Augusto Chouteau is useless, for his twenty militiamen at Fort Carondelet among the Osage Indians do not contribute at present to the defence of the province, as the Americans are so near. In his despatch of March 31, 1799, Morales mentions as able sailors Lieutenant-Colonel Don Pedro Rousseau, Captain Don Guillermo Dupark, and Lieutenant Don Francisco Langlois. In the same despatch he asks to be relieved of his office, as he is unable to continue longer in open quarrel with the governor. He refers also to the permission given by Governor Gayoso de Lemos to Don Santiago Fletcher to introduce into the province two hundred negroes (*bozales*) from Africa. He says that, after the insurrection of the slaves in 1795, at the request of the cabildo, Governor Carondelet had forbid-

den the introduction of slaves from the French Antilles, and later from any other place, in order not to increase the number of enemies of the white race. The present moment is still less favorable for the introduction of slaves in the province, on account of the independence obtained by the negroes of Santo Domingo, but Governor Gayoso insists upon granting Fletcher the permission. Morales does not believe the latter will ever be able to take his cargo to New Orleans; but, if he does, the cabildo will have to oppose his landing and even to confiscate the slaves.

On May 31, 1799, the intendant asked permission to spend seven thousand dollars for a building to be erected at the Convent of the Ursulines for the girls educated there; and on July 25, 1799, he announced the death, on July 18, of Governor Gayoso de Lemos. The governor died of a malignant fever, after a brief illness, and was reconciled to Morales shortly before his death. Colonel Francisco Bouligny assumed the command of the military; and the auditor of war, Don Nicolas Maria Vidal, the civil government.

Governor Gayoso de Lemos died very poor, leaving only the furniture in his house and a few slaves. Colonel Ellicott praises him highly. He was affable and kind, and "it was frequently remarked of him, as a singularity, that he was neither concerned in traffic, nor in the habit of taking *douceurs*, which was too frequently the case with other officers of his Catholic Majesty in Louisiana. He was fond of show and parade, in which he indulged to the great injury of his fortune, and not a little of his

reputation as a good paymaster. He was a tender husband, an affectionate parent, and a good master."

On September 13, 1799, Morales said the Marquis de Casa Calvo had taken possession of the military government of Louisiana, having been appointed to that office by Captain-General Marquis de Someruelos. He announced also the explosion of a powder-magazine in the St. Charles redoubt, which caused the death of four soldiers.

In November, 1799, Bishop Peñalver, in a letter to Don José Antonio Caballero, says the province is infested with adventurers from the West, especially the districts of Ouachita, Attakapas, Opolousas, and Natchitoches, bordering on the province of Texas in New Spain. The bishop adds that the Western people are in the habit of striking their sons on the shoulder when they are very robust and saying to them: "You will go to Mexico."²

Judge Martin relates an interesting incident that shows how well the laws were observed in Louisiana in 1799:

Gayoso now received and executed a commission of judge of residence of his predecessor. One act of the Baron's administration was judged reprehensible. He had been led, by an excess of zeal for what he conceived to be the public good, to take upon himself the responsibility of condemning to death a slave who had killed his overseer. The fact was proven that Vidal, the assessor of government, conceived that the circumstances which attended it did not bring the case under any law authorizing a sentence of death, and had recommended a milder one. At the solicitation of a number of respectable planters, and of the owner of the slave, Marigny de Mandeville, a Knight of St. Louis and colonel of the militia, who represented to the Baron that

an example was absolutely necessary, especially so soon after the late insurrection, he disregarded the opinion of his legal adviser and ordered the execution of the slave. It was thought the life of a human being, although a slave, ought not to depend on the opinion of a man in any case where his sacrifice was not expressly ordered by law. A fine of five hundred dollars was paid by the Baron.

In November, 1799, the cabildo requested the governor to issue a proclamation suspending the prohibition of the introduction into the colony of negroes from Africa, as the cultivation of the sugar-cane required a larger number of laborers. The King approved the suspension of the prohibition.

On December 31, 1799, Don Carlos Dehault de Lassus presented the following census of Upper Louisiana: St. Louis, 925; Carondelet, 184; St. Charles, 875; St. Fernando, 276; Marais des Liards, 376; Maramec, 115; St. Andrew, 393; St. Geneviève, 949; New Bourbon, 560; Cape Girardeau, 521; New Madrid, 782; Little Meadows, 49; total, 6005. The white population was 4948 souls; the free colored, 197; that of slaves, 860. That year there were 34 marriages, 191 births, and 52 deaths. There were in the different settlements 7980 head of horned cattle, and 1763 horses. The crops amounted to 88,349 minots of wheat, 84,534 of Indian corn, and 28,627 pounds of tobacco. The exports to New Orleans consisted of: 1754 bundles of deerskins, \$70,160; 8 bundles of bearskins, \$256; 18 bundles of buffalo robes, \$540; 360 quintals of lead, \$2160; 20 quintals of flour, \$60. Of lead, 1340 quintals were exported to the United

States, by the Ohio, Cumberland, and Tennessee rivers. One thousand bales of salt were made yearly.

At the end of the eighteenth century a great event was preparing for Louisiana, and Bonaparte was the man who was to bring it about. After his campaigns of 1796 and 1797 in Italy, he had gone to Egypt and, in spite of the destruction of his fleet at Aboukir, had won great victories, and had returned to France in 1799. On the 18th Brumaire (November 9, 1799) he overthrew the Directory and established the Consulate. The First Consul accomplished even greater exploits than General Bonaparte, and his campaign of 1800 is really wonderful. He collected a large army, and threw it suddenly over the Alps into Italy, and at Marengo, on June 14, 1800, he crushed the Austrian army. Peace with Austria soon followed this battle, and there was a fair prospect of making peace with England. Bonaparte wished then to revive the colonial empire of France, and he thought of Louisiana, which had been ceded to Spain by Louis XV in 1762.

Charles IV of Spain was a man of good morals and of sincere piety; but he lacked the ability of his father, Charles III, and had no force of character. He allowed his favorite, or rather the Queen's favorite, to govern the kingdom. Manuel Godoy, Prince of Peace, the Prime Minister, was the true King of Spain for several years. He was a man of some ability, but he was no match for the First Consul, who easily persuaded him that if France acquired Louisiana again, that province would serve as a protection for Mexico and the Gulf.

On October 1, 1800, a treaty was negotiated at St. Ildefonso by Berthier,³ who was to become the renowned marshal and chief-of-staff of Napoleon. The third article was as follows: "His Catholic Majesty promises and binds himself to retrocede to the French Republic, six months after the full and entire execution of the conditions and stipulations above mentioned, relative to His Royal Highness the Duke of Parma, the colony or province of Louisiana, with the same extent which it has at present in the hands of Spain, and which it had when France possessed it, and such as it should be since the treaties passed subsequently between Spain and other States." The treaty of St. Ildefonso was kept secret, as peace had not yet been signed with England. On March 21, 1801, a treaty was signed at Madrid by Lucien Bonaparte which confirmed that of St. Ildefonso and stipulated that, on account of the cession of Louisiana to France, the duchy of Tuscany should be given to the Duke of Parma, son-in-law of Charles IV, and that he should receive the title of King of Etruria. Yet it was not till October 15, 1802, that Charles IV signed the treaty of retrocession, and one of his conditions was that "France must pledge herself not to alienate Louisiana, and to restore it to Spain in case the King of Etruria should lose his power."

Preliminaries of peace were signed with England on October 1, 1801, and Bonaparte thought not only of taking possession of Louisiana but also of reconquering Santo Domingo from the blacks. He sent to the island his brother-in-law, General Leclerc, husband of the beautiful Pauline, with a large army; but in spite of the

NAPOLÉON BONAPARTE, FIRST CONSUL

1769-1821

Who made the treaty with Jefferson for the transfer of Louisiana to the United States. From a painting by Baron François Pascal Simon Gérard, executed in 1803 (the year of the transfer), and now in the Musée Condé, Chantilly, France.



Joseph Bonaparte

treacherous capture of that remarkable chief, Toussaint Louverture, the French were unable to wrest Santo Domingo from the rule of the blacks. Sickness decimated the army, General Leclerc died, and his successor, General Rochambeau, son of Washington's companion at Yorktown, capitulated on November 18, 1803. The Pearl of the Antilles remained in the hands of the blacks and was lost to civilization. Exiles from Santo Domingo went to Louisiana to meet their friends who had already taken refuge there.

The treaty of peace between France, Spain, and England was signed at Amiens on March 25, 1802, and Bonaparte made preparations to take formal possession of Louisiana. He named General Bernadotte captain-general; but the latter demanded three thousand soldiers and a like number of agriculturists, and was so unreasonable in his conditions that the First Consul exclaimed: "I would not do as much for one of my brothers." He appointed Bernadotte minister to the United States, and the future King of Sweden was on the point of sailing from La Rochelle when he heard that the peace of Amiens would not be of long duration. Bernadotte returned to Paris and said that he would not attend to any civil functions as long as there should be war.

Bonaparte appointed General Victor captain-general, Pierre Clément Laussat colonial prefect, and Jean-Jacques Aymé judge. "In the mind of the First Consul," says M. V. Tantet,⁴ "Louisiana was to be for the island of Santo Domingo a kind of storehouse, which would provide the latter with provisions, lumber, and

cattle. This is the reason that, in ignorance of the events that were taking place there, he ordered General Victor, then at Hellevoetsluys, in Holland, while intrusting him with taking possession of Louisiana, to enter immediately into communication with his brother-in-law, General Leclerc, whose troops, which were to subdue the revolt of the blacks, were to be sent to Louisiana after the pacification of Santo Domingo."

The First Consul had provided a complete system of government for Louisiana. The chief officials were to be as follows: ⁵ A captain-general, salary seventy thousand francs per annum. A colonial prefect, salary fifty thousand francs per annum. A grand judge, salary thirty-six thousand francs per annum. A sub-prefect for Upper Louisiana, salary six thousand and seventy-five francs per annum. The amount of salaries for the administration of Louisiana was to be two hundred and eighty-one thousand and sixty-five francs per annum. In order to conciliate the Indians, two hundred and seventy silver medals were struck, at a cost of eighty-seven hundred and ninety-two francs, to be presented to the chiefs of the Indian tribes.

As soon as the treaty of Amiens was signed with England in 1802, General Victor was ordered by Minister Decrès to hasten the departure of his expedition and to take possession of Louisiana as quickly as possible. But before Victor had completed his preparations, cold weather set in, and his four vessels were imprisoned in ice. He remained nearly six months in Holland, awaiting an opportunity to sail,—frimaire, nivôse, pluviôse, ven-

tôse, germinal, and floréal, year II of the Republic,—that is to say, until May, 1803. In the mean time the peace of Amiens between France and England was broken, the expedition to Louisiana was abandoned, and Victor never reached the colony of which he had been named captain-general. Laussat, the colonial prefect, had already sailed for New Orleans, and it was he, as Commissioner of the French Government, who received the province from Spain, and shortly afterward transferred it to the United States.

In Volume LII, “Correspondance Générale,” at the Ministry of the Colonies in Paris, are several letters of General Victor to Minister Decrès and to the First Consul. The captain-general complains of the delay in furnishing provisions for the expedition, and in November refers to the excessive cold weather. The following letter from him is interesting:

THE HAGUE, 28 Pluviôse, year II.

To the Minister of Marine and of the Colonies.

CITIZEN MINISTER: The aide-de-camp who will have the honor to hand you the present letter goes to you to solicit anew the replacement of the advances which have been made to the officers, administrators, and employés of the Louisiana Expedition. The stay, long, unexpected, and extremely costly, which we are making in spite of ourselves in Holland has not only absorbed all our pecuniary means, but has reduced us to distress; and several among us, if you do not come promptly to our aid, will be forced to have recourse to the most unpleasant means to provide for indispensable needs. The request which I have the honor to make to you for the payment of the salary for the months past, and until the day of sailing, for all those who form the civil and military administration of the colony, seems to me entirely just. We are

employed, and consequently paid, by the government, beginning with the first frimaire, first date fixed for the departure of the expedition. The causes of its delay cannot be attributed to us. By going to our destination, according to our desires, we should have received our salaries without any difficulty; our claims are, it seems to me, right; the hindrances which the Expedition suffers cannot destroy them; this supposition persuades me, Citizen Minister, that you will take into consideration my request and its motives, and that the officer who bears my representations will return with a favorable decision.

The thawing has begun; it makes us hope that we shall soon be able to continue the work of our preparations; but I must tell you (not to deceive your expectation as in the beginning) that, however diligent we may be in our preparations, it is utterly impossible that the Expedition should sail, either partially or totally, before a month.

The aide-de-camp will bring me the medals if they are ready. I beg you to have them handed to him.

I have the honor to salute you with respect.

VICTOR.

The medals referred to were those that had been struck for the Indian chiefs in Louisiana. In this letter Victor asked for four months' pay for himself and his subordinates, or, as he says later, 93,683.66 $\frac{2}{3}$ francs. The last letter of the captain-general of Louisiana was dated 27 floréal, year II. He sends back all the letters, documents, and orders concerning the Louisiana Expedition, and also the letter of the King of Spain to the Spanish governor authorizing the retrocession of the province.

The following proclamation of General Victor is interesting and curious, inasmuch as the captain-general who issued it never saw the people to whom it was addressed:

PROCLAMATION

In the name of the French Republic. Virtue. Country. The General of Division Victor, Captain-General of Louisiana, to the Louisianians.

DEAR LOUISIANIANS: By a treaty between the French Government and his Majesty the King of Spain, Louisiana has become again a property of the French Republic. I come, in the name of her First Magistrate, the immortal Bonaparte, to take possession of your interesting colony, and to associate its fortunes with the brilliant destinies of the French people.

Thus far, dear Louisianians, in spite of your wise behavior, and of all your efforts for the aggrandizement of your colony, you have only been able to give it the movement of your activity which you preserve in the narrow circle of your possessions: you have not been able to take advantage of all the resources that were offered to you for agriculture by a vast and fertile territory: you have not been able to use for an enlarged commerce all the wealth of your fortunate soil.

I come, in the name of your Government, to offer the means that are to multiply your happiness: I bring you laws that have caused the glory of the French Nation, as they have also assured its tranquility and its happiness. Surrounded by honest and enlightened magistrates, we shall rival with yours in establishing in your midst an incorruptible Justice. A wise and provident administration will give movement and life to agriculture and to all the branches of industry and commerce. I bring you, finally, new brothers, who, like me, knew you well enough, before uniting with you, to esteem and to cherish you.

Henceforth, all felicitously united, we shall form but one family, of which all the members will labor for the happiness of each one and the general prosperity. Having become your father, I shall have all the tenderness of one: without ceasing,

I shall awaken the solicitude of the mother country to add what may be lacking to the colony.

Dear Louisianians: Fear nothing from this imposing mass of warriors that surrounds me. The glory that they have acquired in battle has merited your esteem; the virtues that distinguish them will induce you to love them. They will respect your rights and your properties, in case they are attacked, and I assure you that you will have cause only to be pleased with their conduct.

As for me, dear Louisianians, I shall have done enough for my happiness if I can assure yours by my vigilance and by my care.

VICTOR.

Bonaparte had greatly honored Louisiana by appointing Victor as its captain-general. That officer held in 1802 the high rank of general of division. He was born in 1764, and entered the army as drummer at the age of seventeen. In 1789 he obtained his discharge, settled at Valence, and married; but when the country was declared to be in danger he enlisted as a volunteer in 1792. He distinguished himself in all the campaigns in which he took part, was named general of brigade for his gallantry at the siege of Toulon in 1793, and soon afterward general of division. At the battle of Marengo in 1800 he commanded the vanguard with great valor and ability; and after the battle of Friedland in 1807, where he again distinguished himself, the Emperor Napoleon gave him the titles of Marshal of France and Duke de Bellune, and made him Governor of Berlin. He served with distinction in Spain in 1809, and in the campaigns of 1812, 1813, and 1814.

When Napoleon abdicated in 1814, Victor offered his services to Louis XVIII, and he remained faithful to

that monarch on the return of Napoleon from Elba in 1815. He occupied high offices during the reigns of Louis XVIII and Charles X, and when the latter was overthrown in July, 1830, the Duke de Bellune refused to serve the government of Louis-Philippe. He died in Paris in 1841, and has left an honored name which we are glad to see connected with that of Louisiana.

CHAPTER VIII

CONDITION OF LOUISIANA IN THE BEGINNING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY—MEMOIR OF COLONEL JOSEPH XAVIER DELFAU DE PONTALBA, SEPTEMBER 15, 1801

The Pontalba family—Settlement of Kentucky—States of Kentucky and Tennessee—Transportation across the mountains—Importance of Louisiana with regard to Mexico—Ambiguity in treaty of 1783—District of Natchez attached to West Florida—Spain compelled to yield Natchez—Two ways of assuring a rampart to Mexico—Efforts of the western districts for independence—Attempts to form an alliance with Spain—Emigration from Kentucky arrested—Congress gains the affection of the Western people—Propositions made by Spain—Spain grants free navigation of the river—Treaty with the Indians in 1783—McGillivray's treaty not approved—Orders to receive all emigrants—Louisiana the key to America—Unlimited freedom of commerce—Loans to emigrants—The United States attempt to settle the northwest—Defense of New Orleans—Louisiana the key to Mexico—Importation of negroes forbidden—Cultivation of the sugar-cane—Indigo—Tobacco—Cotton—Peltries and lumber—Louisiana a burden to the metropolis—The memoir sent to General Bonaparte by Minister Decrès.



THE name of the Pontalba family was originally Delfau, a family from Quercy, a province of France, of which the capital was Cahors. François Delfau, born in 1678, was elected a *capitoul* of Toulouse in 1746. This was an office that conferred nobility on the occupant, and François Delfau was “écuyer, seigneur de la Roque Bouillac Roquefort, contreseigneur

de la Baronie de Camboulit." The Delfaus were also "seigneurs de Belfort, Pontalba, Loubéjac et autres lieux."¹

François Delfau died in 1757. He left six sons, all of whom held important offices. His third son, Jean-Joseph Delfau de Pontalba, arrived in Louisiana in 1732. He was sent to the fort of Natchez, and served there one year. He was next in New Orleans, then commandant at the Tunicas, and in 1736 an officer in Bienville's army during the unfortunate campaign against the Chickasaws. He became captain of infantry in 1749, after having important military commands, among others that of Pointe Coupée. He died in New Orleans in 1760, a Knight of St. Louis. He had married in 1748 Marguerite Magdeleine Broutin, daughter of a distinguished military engineer. His son, Joseph Xavier Delfau de Pontalba, author of the important Memoir on Louisiana that forms the greater part of this chapter, was born in New Orleans in 1754. He was sent to France to be educated, entered the army, served in the Regiment of Montauban, then in the Regiment of Guadeloupe, and distinguished himself at the siege of Savannah, in October, 1779, under the Viscount de Noailles and Admiral Count d'Estaing, both of whom recommended him highly, as did also Marshal de Noailles, father of the viscount. He retired from the French army with the rank of captain, and departed for Louisiana in 1784.

Captain de Pontalba married in 1789 Jeanne Francoise Louise Le Breton, daughter of Barthélemy Le Breton, or Le Bretton de Charmeaux, a former musketeer

of the King of France. He became captain of the Regiment of Louisiana in 1790, commander of the militia companies at the "Côte des Allemands," lieutenant-colonel in 1791, and colonel of infantry in the Spanish army in 1800, after his return to Spain and then to France. In the French army he received the commission, in December, 1802, of adjutant-commandant or staff-colonel, and was ordered to accompany Victor to Louisiana when the latter was named captain-general of that province. Colonel de Pontalba was made a Knight of St. Louis in 1814, and died at Mont-l'Évêque, France, in 1834. His only son, Joseph Xavier Célestin Delfau de Pontalba, was born in New Orleans in 1791, and was taken to France in 1796. He became a page of Napoleon in 1804, then a lieutenant in the French army and aide-de-camp of Marshal Ney, to whose wife he was related. He retired from the army in 1813, and died in Paris in 1878. He had married in 1811 Micaela Leonarda Almonester y Roxas, daughter of Don Andres Almonester y Roxas and of Louise de LaRonde.

Don Andres Almonester, whose name has been mentioned often in this history, was born at Mayrena, Andalusia, and died in New Orleans on April 26, 1796, aged seventy-three years. He was buried in St. Louis Cathedral, where a marble slab commemorates his benefactions. He was founder and patron of the cathedral, which cost him \$98,988, of the Royal Hospital and Church of St. Charles, and of a school for girls, and was the builder of the Casa Capitular, now known as the Cabildo, in New Orleans. It was believed that Almonester had made a

gift of the Cabildo building to the city of New Orleans; but documents found by the writer and by Baron Édouard de Pontalba, a great-grandson of the *alferez real*, prove that the cost of building the Cabildo was refunded by the city to Almonester's widow and daughter. The amount was \$28,500. Almonester was married on March 26, 1787, and his only daughter, Micaela, was born when he was seventy-one years old. As we have said, she married in 1811 Joseph Xavier Célestin Delfau de Pontalba. It was she who built the Pontalba Buildings at Jackson Square, the old Place d'Armes. Governor Mirò's wife was the aunt of Colonel Joseph Xavier Delfau de Pontalba's wife.

The following is an extract from Pontalba's Memoir: ²

The chains of the Allegheny and Appalache Mountains divide into two parts the United States of America; the first, which is bounded by the ocean, contains the thirteen provinces, between which communication is easily established by rivers and roads; the second, known by the name of occidental part or country of the West, bordering on Louisiana by lines which run from east to west, ends at the Mississippi, from the forty-second degree where is situated Pennsylvania, after which follow, going south, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

The establishments of that western part begin at the Monongahela and Allegheny rivers, at the junction of which is Fort Pitt, 40° 31' latitude; from that point these two rivers united form the Ohio, which falls into the Mississippi, in 36° 43', after a course of three hundred and ninety-six leagues; and several other navigable rivers fall into the Ohio from the south, of which the principal are the Great Kanhawa, the Little Kanhawa, the Sandy, the Kentucky, the Cumberland, and Tennessee or Che-

roky, which is the last and the nearest the Mississippi, from which its mouth is distant only nineteen leagues. All these rivers, and others less considerable, receive a multitude of small rivers which water this territory and facilitate the numerous establishments that I shall mention.

In 1760 there were a few inhabitants in the neighborhood of Fort Pitt, on the Monongahela River; but it was not till 1774 that the first five families arrived in Kentucky—the principal settlement of that western part. It begins at the Sandy River, one hundred and fourteen leagues lower than Fort Pitt, and in 1792 contained fifty thousand men able to bear arms, and to-day eighty thousand.

The principal districts of these immense countries are, beginning at the source of the Ohio, Monongahela with a part of the Allegheny, Kentucky, Cumberland, and Franklin, between which are scattered, at different distances, other small establishments, which, as they extend, will probably unite with those of the above-named States that are nearest to them. The best known are Randolph, the Little Kanhawa, Maton, Hoodford, Lincoln, Green, Bluestone, Logan, and Mirò.

The Monongahela district is between the limits of Pennsylvania and Maryland. Kentucky was a part of Virginia, but in 1791 that State was declared independent and formed the fourteenth of the United States. Cumberland and Franklin were part of North Carolina, and form now the fifteenth of the United States under the name of Tennessee.

Although Monongahela is distant only one hundred leagues from Philadelphia, the only outlet for its products, the enormous cost of transportation across the mountains would absorb the value, since a barrel of flour of one hundred and eighty pounds (which is the richest product of that country) is worth in Philadelphia four dollars in time of peace, and certainly it would cost much more to bring it there.

It is the same in Kentucky and Tennessee with tobacco, the principal staple of those districts; so that all union of commerce

becomes impossible between the countries on the western side and those of the Atlantic coast.

All this proves that the only outlet for their products is through the Mississippi; that Louisiana, holding them in the most absolute dependency, will always be the object of their ambition; that their position, their population, their means, will enable them to invade that province, whenever they shall wish to undertake it; and that to preserve it, it is proper to have communication with those who have the most credit among them, to grant them privileges until the province should be in a condition to defend itself from the torrent that threatens it. There is no doubt that if the dike breaks, the torrent will carry along everything in its way, for the inhabitants of Kentucky, alone or with those of the other districts, may, when they wish, and before one could have time to be informed of their projects, arrive at New Orleans, to the number of twenty or thirty thousand armed men, in great flat-boats, such as they construct every day for the transportation of their products, and a few gunboats, bringing with them provisions beyond their needs. The rapidity of the current of the Ohio and of the other rivers that fall into it, makes this undertaking easy, and their few needs hasten the execution of it. A powder-pouch, a bag of balls, their provision of cold flour—that is their equipment. Great adroitness, the habit of living in the woods and of bearing fatigue, supply what is lacking.

The importance of Louisiana should be the reason for taking extraordinary means to save it from the irruption with which it is continually threatened. If one considers it from the point of view of what it brings at present to the state, one will find that six per cent. custom-house duties for exports and imports, the only duties imposed, produce not more than one hundred thousand dollars a year, and the expenses borne annually for this province by the King of Spain amount to five hundred and thirty-seven thousand dollars.

What should draw attention upon Louisiana is, that it has a port on the Gulf of Mexico, in which no other power has any

except the King of Spain. But what should give it still more importance and value is its position relatively to the Kingdom of Mexico, of which the Mississippi is the natural barrier. It should be rendered impenetrable, as that is the surest way to destroy forever the bold projects with which several persons in the United States fill their newspapers, designating through Louisiana the road to the conquest of Mexico; especially since the disputes that have arisen about the frontiers.

The long discussion about the boundary between the United States and Louisiana, which ended in 1797, came from an ambiguity in the treaty of peace of 1783,—an ambiguity introduced, without doubt, on purpose by England, to leave a subject of discord between Spain and the United States, without which it would have been necessary to stipulate that His Catholic Majesty should order the delivery to the United States of the district and fort of Natchez, which the King possessed then, after conquering them.

When England possessed the United States and part of the province of Louisiana, the limits of Georgia being indicated on the charts, east and west, from the sea to the Mississippi, the district of Natchez was comprised in it; but the inhabitants of that post having represented that, for appeal in lawsuits, they were obliged to go to Georgia, His Britannic Majesty declared that the Natchez district should be dependent upon the Governor of Pensacola and form part of the province of West Florida. This province was thus increased as far as the line of Chaterpé, which had been drawn by the English and the Chickasaw and Choctaw tribes, from the territory of Mobile, forty-five leagues from the fort of that name, to Yazoo river, five leagues from its mouth in the Mississippi. So that West Florida, having been ceded to His Catholic Majesty by Great Britain, by the treaty of peace of 1783, was ceded in its entirety, with all that depended upon it at the time of the cession, of which Spain was already in possession by right of conquest, and which she never had agreed to surrender.

The English, in the treaty of peace which they made at the same time with the United States, abandoned to them all the territory that in the earlier charts formed part of the provinces of the United States as far as the Mississippi, without considering what His Britannic Majesty had detached from it and united to West Florida, and the line that was determined in this treaty, following the middle of the course of the Mississippi, to the thirty-first degree of latitude, abandoned to the United States all the east side of that river to a point opposite the mouth of Red River, in the said river, twelve leagues below Natchez, and following west and east from that point to the river St. Mary, left them all the district of Natchez, the most populous in Louisiana, and restricted the possessions of Spain near Mobile to a sandy territory which does not extend two leagues, and the rear of Pensacola to an untilled soil, which has not an extent of ten leagues.

From the year 1785 the United States wished to take possession of Natchez and of all the territory that was designated in the treaty. Spain constantly opposed this, and succeeded, by communication with the western provinces of the United States and by negotiations, in averting the hostilities with which she was often threatened, and in eluding those ill-founded claims of the United States until 1797, when she was obliged to accede to them or be exposed to the loss of the entire province.

Since the Americans have been in possession of these new limits, it becomes more important than ever to assure a rampart for the protection of Mexico. There are two ways to do this: the first is to people Louisiana so that the inhabitants may defend her; the second, to form a union with Kentucky and the other districts of the western country, so that they shall obligate themselves to serve as a barrier against the United States; and in the mean time to preserve peace at any price with the United States.

This is what the Spanish Government has done constantly since 1787. It was aided in this by a powerful landholder,³ who joins to a great deal of influence among his compatriots great con-

sideration acquired by the services he has rendered to the cause of liberty in the highest military ranks; who, since that time, has not ceased to serve Spain in her views, and who will display the same zeal for France, as he believes justly that a close union with Louisiana offers infinitely more advantage to his country than a union with the United States.

This person, whose name I shall not mention, not to compromise him, but which I shall indicate when his services are needed, came to New Orleans in 1787. He made known to the Government the condition in which were Kentucky and the neighboring districts, and the efforts they were making then to obtain their independence and the free navigation of the Mississippi, as well as the general opinion of offering to Spain to put themselves under her protection in case of refusal on the part of Congress. On that refusal this inhabitant of Kentucky based his hopes, and he offered then to devote himself to the success of the undertaking, by declaring himself a vassal of His Catholic Majesty. He promised as such to give notice of all that might be undertaken by the inhabitants of Kentucky for or against Louisiana, and proposed, as a second means, to encourage emigration from the western countries bordering on Louisiana, in order to increase our forces. He departed with this disposition.

He returned to New Orleans in 1789 to renew to the Government his proposal to employ all means to procure for his district of Kentucky its independence of the United States, by forming with Spain an alliance, exclusive of all other powers, and at the same time actively promoting emigration to Louisiana.

(NOTE.—Four times, from 1786 to 1792, preparations were made in Kentucky and Cumberland to attack Louisiana, and always that same person thwarted them by his influence with his compatriots. I say this to indicate that France should not neglect to place him in her interest.)

He announced, in his correspondence in 1791, that his hopes for the success of his projects had vanished. He attributed the cause to the fact that Spain had just granted to the inhabitants

of Kentucky permission to send their products to New Orleans and to sell them there by paying a duty of fifteen per cent. He pretended that the fertility of their soil amply compensated for this duty; and the following year he announced that, in his district, all idea of emigration had been dispelled, since the inhabitants of Kentucky knew that His Catholic Majesty had just declared that in the future His Majesty, instead of buying from the emigrants two million pounds of tobacco a year, would take in the following year only forty thousand pounds.

It results from all this that Spain has not been able to draw to her the people of Kentucky. The same motives have arrested the emigration which could justly be expected, since, without having done anything to procure it, Louisiana, which contained only twenty thousand souls in 1782, had forty-five thousand in 1792, and more than seventy thousand to-day, including the district of Natchez, which has been ceded to the Americans since 1797.

The man mentioned above advised injudiciously that the people of those districts be made absolutely dependent on Spain, by forbidding them all kind of commerce with Louisiana, as well as the navigation of the river; and he hoped that the greater part of the thirteen provinces would consent to it. To succeed in this manner in putting a stop to the excessive and alarming emigration from the Atlantic coast toward the western countries, he thought that as the latter were not sustained in their pretensions by the Federal Government, it would then become easy to induce them to seek their welfare themselves by throwing themselves into the arms of Spain.

All these combinations necessarily failed, because, instead of opposing the pretensions of the above-named districts, the United States declared themselves very decidedly in their favor, and formulated in 1792 a demand to the court of Spain, in which they represented that, unless they exposed themselves to lose half of their territory, they could not close their ears to the continual clamors of the inhabitants of the West, who solicited, besides

the free navigation of the Mississippi, which nature had given them, a post on the lower Mississippi, in order that their ships might receive their products there; adding that the designation of a place of deposit at New Orleans might give rise to negotiations.

The Congress, by these means, gained so completely the affection of those people for its government that it was no longer possible to think of forming the union above mentioned, although surely those inhabitants would be happier for it. Spain lost also the hope of having time to people Louisiana before making arrangements with the United States. To delay this negotiation, a thing that exactly suited the court of Spain, it was decided to make different propositions to the Congress. First it was declared that, considering the delicate position of the western countries, His Majesty, through humanity, had permitted them to sell their products at New Orleans; and although there was a duty of fifteen per cent. (paid in products), that was more advantageous to them than to export them by sea, since they sell at New Orleans, for eight dollars, a barrel of flour that was worth three dollars at Monongahela; and that very surely those persons, who should come from the Atlantic with ships, to load them at the Mississippi, would buy at much lower prices; but that, to avoid a pretext for contraband and discussion, His Majesty would permit the free navigation of the Mississippi to the inhabitants of the western countries, who might easily cause to be constructed, on the rivers where they are established, schooners or boats by which they could send their goods to the ports of the United States, or to those of the foreign colonies that admit them; a proposition which was rejected, as they persisted in demanding entrance to the river for any American ship, and the possession of a port.

This negotiation dragged along again with new propositions, such as to permit the entrance of the river only as far as the Plaquemines turn, ten leagues from the Balize at the mouth of the river, with the prohibition of putting planks on the river to

load, binding themselves to do so with the flatboats with which they go down, and which may easily come alongside the ships.

As the Congress was unwilling to abate anything from those pretensions, Spain, in order not to lose more, saw herself obliged to grant the free navigation of the river, and, instead of giving them the port which they demanded, to consent to put them in possession of the limits above mentioned, which had been designated by their treaty of peace with England; which was done in 1797.

Since, with these new limits, the United States possess more than six hundred leagues of the east side of the Mississippi, from the thirty-first degree, opposite Red River, to the forty-second degree, it becomes more important than ever to people the western side, much more suitable to numerous and flourishing establishments, such as New Madrid, the rivers St. Francis, Arkansas, Ouachita, and Red, and the posts of Natchitoches, Attakapas, and Opelousas. All these districts, well peopled, might defend the province, by meeting easily at such point as the circumstances might require. The lands watered by these rivers are the most fertile in America, and offer the finest territories of an immense extent, bordering on the Kingdom of Mexico. These are the points that the court of Spain feared to people, on account of this neighborhood, and it gave the most precise orders not to place any family on the Ouachita River, which communicates most directly with Mexico.

The possession of Louisiana, thus reduced by these new boundaries, comprises no more, then, on the east side of the Mississippi, than as far as the thirty-first degree, twelve leagues below Natchez, as I have said above; but in spite of that, the United States cannot consider as belonging to them the tribes of the Chickasaws, Choctaws, Alibamons, and Creeks, because those tribes, which are entirely devoted to us, besides having always received presents from Great Britain as owner of Florida, have renewed the sort of dependency to which they submit for the protection granted to them by Spain. In a congress which the

Government of Louisiana held in May, 1783, at Pensacola, with the Creeks, and in June, at Mobile, with the other tribes, a treaty was made to that effect, in thirteen articles, which was approved by the court. The United States will reply to this that they also have made treaties with the Chickasaws and Choctaws at Hopewell and Seneca in 1786; but those treaties are imaginary. On the side of the Chickasaws an Indian chief, with a small number of warriors, went to Hopewell, and a few Choctaw chiefs, the only ones who had not brought back the English medals to the Spanish Governor, went to Seneca, none being authorized by their tribes. This is what was declared by those same Choctaw chiefs who have since come to deliver the medals to the Government, and to take some from the King of Spain. The King of the Chickasaws and his principal chiefs disapproved also the action of the above-mentioned chief.

It is very important that these tribes should remain under the protection of France, as they were under that of Spain, because they serve as a barrier against the United States, in a space of three hundred leagues which one would have to cross among them, to come from the provinces of Georgia and South Carolina. I have no doubt that the Americans will oppose it with all their might, as they have always done, by sending every year commissioners to endeavor to detach them from Spain. They have never as yet succeeded. They have kept on their side only the Chickasaw chief above mentioned, and his village. None of the others allowed themselves to be persuaded by the letters that were written to them by the Minister of War, Knox, Dr. Franklin, and even General Washington; they delivered the letters to the Governor of Louisiana, as a proof of their fidelity. But as it was possible that the United States might compel them, and as it is against international law to prevent them from choosing their protector, it is just, and to the interest of France, to offer them a support in such a case.

If ever it happened that the United States should wish to undertake to form establishments in the territory of the above-

named tribes, as they have already tried to do, it is not doubtful that they will oppose this with all their power and that they will call then to their aid the Government of Louisiana, which should support them with all its might, not to run the risk of seeing itself deprived of such an essential barrier.

These tribes have always been disposed to repel by force any undertaking to invade their territory. This is what happened between the Cherokees, the Creeks, the Talapouches, and the United States. The former want for a boundary the Cumberland River, the latter the Okony. It is for that reason that they fought constantly until 1791, when the half-breed Alexander McGillivray was called to New York by President Washington, with several Creek chiefs. They made then a treaty of peace, which the tribe refused to approve, because McGillivray had ceded more land than he was authorized to cede, which was even contrary to the thirteen articles of the congress held at Pensacola in 1784 with the nation of the Creeks. By this cession McGillivray abandoned to the Americans a considerable part of the best lands of the Creeks, who refused to give possession. France must uphold them. It is even proper, in order to succeed, that in taking possession of Louisiana, the French Government should call at Pensacola a council of the above-named nation. Although this operation is costly,—for, in such a case, the customary presents must be given to them, and provisions must be furnished them during their stay and for their return, nevertheless, the means employed by the United States to draw them to their side render this measure indispensable. In that congress the French Governor will know what influence McGillivray has kept over these people since they disapproved his treaty. He will make them feel how much more advantageous to them is the protection of France, which they have not forgotten, than that of the United States, which are only seeking to invade their lands.

The Choctaws and Alibamons, seeing the Creeks called in council, will ask for one in their turn; it will be indispensable

to grant it, to destroy the continual attempt which the neighboring states are making to detach them from the Government of Louisiana, which they like, and under whose protection they have always been.

At the time of the French domination the Governor of New Orleans called these nations in council every year at Mobile; therefore the old men among them always mention that epoch with pleasure, and will see the arrival of their former protectors with as much satisfaction as they look upon the United States with distrust.

In spite of the advantages that the United States have obtained by the new boundaries, what will always keep the western inhabitants of the United States dependent upon Louisiana, and what will render emigration advantageous to them, although their lands are also very fertile, is the difficulty of procuring what they need, at a distance so remote, in exchange for their goods, although they have the liberty of the navigation of the river; for the most valuable products they have for sale are tobacco and flour, which are held at a low price on the Atlantic coast, so that if ships went from these to the Mississippi to buy those articles from the inhabitants of the West, the latter would be obliged to sell them at a low price, in order that the ship-owners might cover their expenses. Besides, the sellers cannot receive merchandise in exchange, on account of the great expense of going up the Mississippi to the Ohio, for there are six hundred and thirty-three leagues from the post of Plaquemines, ten leagues from the mouth of the Mississippi, to Louisville, the first establishment in Kentucky. The road is still less passable by land, although shorter by half; so that the only thing the inhabitant of Kentucky can do is to sell his goods cheap for money to the American ships, go to Philadelphia, buy there the merchandise he needs, transport it one hundred leagues by land to Fort Pitt, and thence descend two hundred and thirty-five leagues by the Ohio to his home.

It certainly cannot be expected that any farmer could under-

take such an operation, or that any merchant could speculate on the handling of these goods. How much more advantageous it will be to the inhabitants of the west, to come nearer by the Mississippi, or at least to unite with Louisiana, and have the right to sell their products with great advantage at New Orleans.

These circumstances present very powerful motives to the inhabitants of Kentucky, whose example would soon be followed by the other western districts, to separate from the United States, to form an alliance with France, binding themselves to defend Louisiana in case of attack by the United States.

As Spain has granted them all that they have demanded, and as it is to be presumed that they will undertake no hostility, France will have time to elaborate that project, and the inhabitants of Kentucky to be convinced that they cannot be happy without this alliance or the conquest of Louisiana. One of these events is demanded by the circumstances of these countries; it is for France to attend to the one, to avoid the other. To succeed, a man should be employed who knows the importance of that result, as well as the situation of those provinces, with regard to Louisiana and the United States, and who should renew the communication that the Government of Louisiana had with the person of whom I have spoken.

While this project is attended to, it will be of the highest importance to employ extraordinary means to people Louisiana, so that she may defend herself, which, once accomplished, would render less necessary, perhaps even useless, the alliance desired, or rather would make the districts mentioned solicit it. At first sight it seems dangerous to people Louisiana with foreigners; but her singular situation with regard to the people on the Ohio is such that they should be considered as at home, for we may assume that, from those districts, those inhabitants have more facilities for invading Louisiana than they would have for revolting, if they were established there, with this difference, that, in the first case, the invasion would be glorious, and embarking on the Ohio, favored by the swiftness of the current, they would find

themselves in Louisiana before any one knew they had thought of it; while, once emigrated and received among us with promise of fidelity to the Republic, those who should undertake a revolt, not being able to do so without its being known, would risk everything, and, far from finding glory, would only expose themselves to condemnation as traitors. Besides, one cannot presume that people who have lived under a precarious government, which did not protect them, continually surrounded with dangers from the Indians, deprived of all kinds of commerce, will become disloyal when they see themselves, by their own choice, established under another Government, which protects them, assures an outlet for their products, burdens them with no imposts, and settles their quarrels without meddling with their domestic operations any more than with matters of religion.

As soon as, by such means, the affection of the first generation has been won, the following ones will know no other country; and afterward those who govern them must endeavor to impress the tender minds of youth with ideas of patriotism and justice.

Similar motives decided the King of Spain, in 1790, to give orders to the Governor of Louisiana to receive there all emigrants who should present themselves from those provinces, to give them lands, and to establish districts, six leagues distant from each other, in the centre of which there should be a church, a house for a commandant, and an Irish curate, but with orders not to trouble them in their creed.

My most important aim is to indicate means of peopling Louisiana. These will be based upon the purchase of the tobacco crop of the emigrants, and the most unlimited extension of commerce. If my propositions appear excessive, let them be attributed solely to my conviction that Louisiana is the key of America, and consequently of the highest importance; that in this respect she has been for a long time the object of the ambition of the United States, which will experience the greatest anxiety at seeing her in the possession of such a power as France, and which would have invaded her long ago if they had thought that she would ever belong to that power.

The purchase of tobacco from the emigrants cannot be a burden to France. Spain employed this means before the war, and took from them at New Orleans two million pounds out of each crop, although she consumes but little of it. I have been informed very positively, by the administrator intrusted personally with this duty in Spain, that after the quantity needed in Spain, which is only sixty thousand pounds a year, because it can only be used for snuff tobacco, he had sent every year to Holland and to France a few million pounds that remained to him, and that, according to the accounts he had received, a considerable benefit to the royal treasury resulted from the sale. This leads me to propose this means as the one that promises most success without being onerous to the Republic.

The tobacco crops were received in the years 1790 and 1791 at eight cents a pound in Louisiana by the Spanish Government, which found a profit in it, and the inhabitants derived so great an advantage that I know positively, from themselves, that they would consider themselves very fortunate if the Government should take the tobacco now at the moderate price of six cents a pound, instead of eight; and if that purchase were extended to four million pounds a year, that would be sufficient to attract many inhabitants; for, from Red River to New Madrid, it is the only product that can benefit the cultivators—a circumstance which has convinced me that the purchase of that tobacco would be a powerful means of peopling that part of Louisiana.

Since the purchase of tobacco gave a profit to Spain, which paid eight cents a pound, France, paying only six cents, will be able, while selling it cheaper, to find easily a market for these four million pounds, in France, in Spain, or in Holland.

The following is an abstract of Pontalba's Memoir:

An arrangement could be made with Spain by which two hundred and forty thousand dollars would be sent every year to Louisiana from Vera Cruz for the purchase of tobacco, and France would reimburse Spain in Europe.

The commerce, limited to the ports of France and her colonies in times of peace, and extended to the ports of the United States in times of war, is sufficient for the ordinary purposes of trade, but not to increase the population rapidly. The best way to people Louisiana in a few years would be to extend the freedom of commerce and allow it with all nations. Commissioners should be appointed who would make known everywhere the conditions on which foreign families would be received in Louisiana, and regulations should be given to captains of ships, who would receive those who might wish to settle in that province. With an increase of population, the impost of six per cent. already established would soon amount to more than the five hundred and thirty-seven thousand dollars which the administration of the province costs.

As soon as it should be known in the western portion of the United States that commerce with Louisiana was unlimited, that tobacco would be purchased by the government, and that it was "the intention to develop in this province the degree of splendor of which it is capable," there can be no doubt that emigration would be as considerable from the West to Louisiana as it was from the East to the West. A great inducement for immigration is the fact that France is the only power that may obtain for Louisiana freedom of commerce with the ports of the Gulf of Mexico.

Thus far, the means suggested for peopling Louisiana, instead of being a burden, would give rise to a profit. A more powerful attraction would be, to appropriate about three million francs for loans to the emigrants from the

CAPTAIN JOSEPH XAVIER DE PONTALBA

1754-1834

Author of an important Memoir on Louisiana sent to Bonaparte in 1801. From a contemporary painting belonging to his grandson, Baron Édouard de Pontalba, Senlis, France. He is shown in the uniform of a captain of the Regiment of Guadcloupe.



Charles de la Harpe

West. To each person one hundred francs should be lent, payable in three years. In this way, in less than two years, thirty thousand persons would be attracted to Louisiana. Little money would be lost in this operation, with a great increase in the amount paid for duties. The people who should come from Kentucky and adjacent districts, all active and laborious agriculturists, would sell their lands and obtain others in Louisiana for nothing, and would soon be in a condition to reimburse the money lent them by the government.

That is not all. After granting everything to Louisiana, France would yet have done nothing for her if she did not give her, to govern her, a man, honest, loyal, just, and kind, whose conciliatory spirit should know how to win the affection of the inhabitants. They are gentle, sensitive, and, above all, grateful.

“After they had done more than was then permitted to French subjects, and had seen the solicitations of their delegates rejected, the inhabitants of Louisiana deliberated whether they should not have recourse to their courage, and the expulsion of the Spanish Governor, Ulloa, was the result.

“O'Reilly arrived with an army, he heralded words of peace, of indulgence, of oblivion of the past. The inhabitants, abandoned by their country, believed they no longer owed it a love which it rejected. They hoped their lot would be bearable, and they received their new masters without resistance. The conduct of O'Reilly is but too well known; it exasperated all hearts and caused the new domination to be abhorred.

“ Count de Galvez appeared, and with him confidence, affability, gentleness, frankness, justice, and kindness. Soon the whole colony was devoted to him. He received in 1779 the news of the declaration of war against the English; he called the inhabitants together; he exclaimed: ‘ Let him who loves me follow me!’ and the next day fifteen hundred Creoles, among whom were many fathers of families, pressed around him. The English were attacked before they were aware of the march against them, and all their establishments on the Mississippi were captured before the artillery, which was following us, had gone over half the distance.”

The United States tried to settle the territory northwest of the Ohio. Five hundred families were allured from Paris, and established themselves on the Scioto River; but the Indians harassed them in such a manner that nearly all abandoned their settlements. The American Government constructed a fort on the Little Miami, and undertook without success two expeditions against the Indians. There are, therefore, few settlements at present in that region. With regard to the defense of Louisiana, there are only two points to be protected from attacks by sea—Mobile and New Orleans. Two hundred and fifty men are sufficient for the first, and two thousand five hundred for the second. With a battery of four guns at the Rigolet, opposition can easily be made to gunboats that might endeavor to pass through Bayou St. John, and the entrance to Lake Pontchartrain can be defended by the two boats that are there now. The essential point of defense, from the mouth of the river, is the Plaquemines

bend, ten leagues from the Balize. A fort has been established there, on the left bank, of which the fire crosses that of a battery on the opposite bank. The works cannot be attacked by land, on account of the miry ground, and ships and gunboats would have great difficulty in approaching them, on account of the swiftness of the current and contrary winds. Besides, the deepest pass at the mouth of the river has only thirteen feet of water, so that ships carrying many heavy guns could not enter. If, however, the Plaquemines bend were forced, the English Turn, fourteen leagues above, would present an impregnable point of defense.

It is useless to keep up considerable fortifications at Pensacola, for its sterile and sandy soil is not favorable for a large population. Expenses there may be reduced by one hundred thousand dollars, and forty guns may be withdrawn which would be more useful elsewhere.

In the hands of France, Louisiana may be called to the most brilliant destiny, and be a source of riches for the metropolis. Her immense soil is exceedingly fertile, and insures to the agriculturist twenty-five per cent. profit on his capital. New Orleans is the only outlet to an immense extent of country. By possessing Louisiana, France holds in her hands the key to Mexico, as her western limits, beyond Natchitoches, extend as far as the post of San Antonio. France will be better able to protect Mexico from invasion than Spain, and for that service will obtain from Spain freedom of commerce for Louisiana with the ports on the Gulf of Mexico. The province will then offer so many advantages to immi-

grants that in less than ten years it will have a large population.

“Almost all the Louisianians are born French or are of French origin. It is with rage in their hearts that they have ceased to be French; and although the truly paternal domination of the King of Spain has, since an honorable catastrophe (the taking possession of the province by O'Reilly), brought them happiness, although it has protected them from such disasters as have devastated Santo Domingo, they would again become French with enthusiasm if they had no fears about the system to be established among them with regard to the negroes. Their freedom would destroy all fortunes, annihilate all means of existence, and be an omen of the greatest misfortunes.”

The number of negroes would have increased considerably if the activity of the planters had not been suspended for several years. On hearing of the devastation at Santo Domingo, the negroes in Louisiana attempted to revolt against their masters, but they were subdued, and the leaders were punished. It was then thought prudent to forbid for some time any importation of negroes into the province. As the number of whites increased considerably by immigration, negroes from Africa have been allowed lately to enter the colony. The inhabitants of Louisiana, if reassured with regard to their slaves and to imposts, would be delighted to return under the French domination.

The necessaries of life are very cheap in Louisiana. The posts of Attakapas, Opelousas, and Natchitoches furnish cattle by thousands, and a beef carcass of seven

hundred or eight hundred pounds costs only four dollars. Flour comes from the West in such abundance that bread is not much dearer in New Orleans than in France. A barrel of rice of one hundred and eighty pounds costs four or five dollars, and a barrel of corn from forty to fifty cents, and this is the chief food of the planter and his negroes. Game is abundant and very cheap. The only costly thing in the province is labor, and such is always the case when the population is small.

The products of Louisiana are sugar, indigo, tobacco, cotton, rice, buckwheat, common peltries, lumber of all sorts, and boxes for Havana sugar. The failure of the indigo crop for several years, and the small value of the other crops, have induced the planters to try again the cultivation of the sugar-cane, which formerly had not succeeded. The cane, which in the islands takes eighteen months to mature, takes only seven months in Louisiana. It begins to grow in March and is cut at the end of October. It was thought possible to manufacture the sugar only in November, and in part of December when the winter was mild, and this would have required a very large number of negroes. It was found that the cane, which in Santo Domingo becomes sour in two days after it is cut, can be kept in Louisiana, when covered with its straw, until the time comes for making the sugar. In 1795, with thirty negroes, the first sugar plantation was established, and the planter derived twelve thousand dollars from his crop. The quality of the sugar was as good as that of Martinique, and now there are more than sixty sugar plantations in Louisiana, which produce four

million pounds annually, and give a profit of twenty to twenty-five per cent. on the capital invested. In times of peace this industry will increase considerably. The sugar-cane can be cultivated with as much success at the posts of Attakapas, Opelousas, Vermilion, and Lafourche, as on the banks of the Mississippi.

The production of indigo is diminishing every year, on account of insects that destroy the crop, and is now only one hundred thousand pounds annually. It is believed that the sugar-cane destroys the insects, and that land that has produced cane for a long time will be again suitable to the cultivation of indigo.

The post of Natchitoches is almost the only one that produces tobacco to-day, since Natchez has been delivered to the Americans. About two hundred thousand pounds of tobacco are produced, which is sold mostly in France, and at Vera Cruz and Campeche.

The exports of cotton do not exceed two hundred thousand pounds, but since the invention of machines to take out the seed, this crop offers sufficient profit to those who have not enough means to cultivate cane. The cotton is fine but short, and in times of peace is sold entirely in France.

Louisiana exports every year one hundred thousand dollars' worth of peltries, principally deer. The colony provides Santo Domingo with lumber of all kinds, but it cannot be sold as cheap as from the United States, where labor is not so costly and the wood not as hard. The quality of the lumber from Louisiana is infinitely better, and the ships from that province return from Santo Do-

mingo with cargoes worth three or four times the value of the lumber, which proves that it is to the advantage of Santo Domingo to encourage that trade.

The trade that occupies the largest number of ships is that of the boxes furnished to Cuba for its sugar. Havana alone takes two hundred thousand boxes, which form fifty cargoes. These boxes, at fifty cents apiece, bring to the planters about one hundred thousand dollars, to the ship-owners as much, and to the merchants twenty-five thousand dollars. Besides, all the ships carry (contraband) to Havana a certain quantity of French merchandise, and the profit is considerable. The boxes were formerly made in Havana of cedar wood, but Spain, to favor Louisiana, has allowed that province to furnish Cuba and other posts on the Gulf of Mexico, and the manufacture of boxes in the Spanish settlements has ceased, as the wood is much harder there and not as cheap. About thirty sawmills for planks for sugar-boxes have been constructed on the river in the neighborhood of New Orleans, and the privilege of that trade with Cuba should continue. Spain should be reminded that freedom of commerce with France was granted to the Louisianians to reward them for the zeal they displayed in the campaigns of General Galvez against Baton Rouge, Mobile, and Pensacola, and they should not be deprived of the trade in sugar-boxes for Cuba, which they have enjoyed the thirty-eight years that they have been under the Spanish domination.

Ten thousand barrels of rice are exported every year from Louisiana to Santo Domingo and Havana. The

principal resource of the province, however, is the money the government pays to its employés. Three ships, which arrive at intervals of four months, bring annually from Mexico five hundred and thirty-seven thousand dollars, and this amount is divided among such a large number of employés that it is soon spread among the farmers who nourish them and the merchants who provide for their needs, and the whole amount soon returns to commerce.

Louisiana is still a burden to the metropolis, and costs at least four hundred and thirty-seven thousand dollars more than the revenue derived from the imposts. If we deduct one hundred thousand dollars spent uselessly at Pensacola, a deficit of three hundred and thirty-seven thousand dollars still remains, which will be covered in a few years merely by the progress of the sugar plantations.

The planter does not economize; whatever be the product of his crop, he uses it to improve his plantation. He is ambitious and active, and needs only encouragement.

The only duties imposed in Louisiana are six per cent. on all exports, and six per cent. on imports of foreign goods. Spain has kept the province only for political reasons, for it has always been burdensome to her, as it was formerly to France. While trading with the posts on the Gulf of Mexico, the inhabitants of Louisiana introduce there, by smuggling, about one hundred thousand dollars' worth of French goods, such as silk, ribbons, muslins, laces, lawns, and jewels.

If, by the cession of Louisiana to France, Spain should

close to the province her ports on the Gulf of Mexico, the colony would languish until the population should increase to such an extent that the value of the exports became greater than that of the imports. "It is only hands that are lacking. People it, it will become an inexhaustible source of wealth for France. In one way or another, people it."

The following is the valuation of the trade and products of Louisiana: "4,000,000 pounds of sugar, at eight dollars a hundredweight, \$320,000; 4000 barrels of syrup, at fifteen dollars, \$60,000; 100,000 pounds of indigo, \$100,000; 200,000 pounds of tobacco, \$16,000; sundry peltries, \$100,000; Louisiana may furnish Santo Domingo, in time of peace only, lumber, species, etc., for \$50,000; 200,000 boxes are sent every year to Havana, and bring in return \$225,000; 10,000 barrels of rice are exported every year to Santo Domingo, the ports of Cuba and Campeche, at the current price of five dollars, \$50,000; the King of Spain pays every year in this province to his employés, \$537,000; the extraordinary expenses of the government absorb the amount of the custom-house duties, which are not more than \$100,000; the value of the merchandise that the ships from Louisiana introduce by smuggling into the Spanish ports of Havana and on the Gulf of Mexico amounts to \$500,000; the total is \$1,958,000."

In times of peace the trade is with Bordeaux, Marseilles, and Nantes, and is done by vessels from those ports. As soon as they have discharged their cargoes in New Orleans, they go to Havana and Vera Cruz and

carry there boxes for sugar, and never fail to carry also (in contraband) French goods. On their return to New Orleans, they find their cargoes for Europe ready.

As the war with England did not permit trade with France, commerce with neutral nations has been allowed, and Louisiana has hardly suffered during this long war. France should prohibit the importation of lumber from the United States into the French colonies, and this would give a great impetus to the lumber trade of Louisiana.

Paper money of any sort would cause the ruin of the province, and would be burdensome to any government, and profitable only to a few speculators who are always interested in proposing its issue. The government can easily procure funds there without being obliged to send any by issuing bills of exchange on the national treasury. "It is needless to say that this resource would no longer be available from the very moment they should cease to be paid on becoming due." The friendly relations between France and Spain would make it practicable to procure dollars from Vera Cruz, to be reimbursed in Europe.

"This is the information that I have acquired, during a residence of eighteen years attached to the government as a superior officer, on the situation of Louisiana and her natural enemies, the means of improving the colony so that it may defend itself, its commerce, and its actual products. I shall be satisfied if the First Magistrate of my new country pays some attention to this long and perhaps tedious detail upon which I have been obliged to

enter, to give a perfect knowledge of that immense country, and of its dangerous neighbors, and if the means I propose to save it give sufficient enlightenment to determine what should be done for its prosperity, to which I shall always be eager to contribute.

“Paris, 29 Fructidor year 9 (September 15, 1801).

“JOSEPH PONTALBA.

“At Croisy near Chatou.”

In the margin of the Memoir or Notes are these words: “To the General,” signed “Decrès.” Although Bonaparte had already acquired Louisiana for France by the treaty of St. Ildefonso, signed in 1800, when he received Pontalba’s interesting Notes, he must have appreciated highly the important information furnished to him in 1801.

CHAPTER IX

NEW ORLEANS IN 1802 AND 1803, AND THE TRANSFER TO FRANCE

Life in New Orleans—Merchant vessels—Advertisement of a school—Houses and plantations for sale—Foreign commerce—John McDonogh—D'Hébert's school—A book-store—Confectioners and dentists—Miniature-painters—Imports and exports—Laussat arrives—Rigid police regulations—A professor of drawing—Two new schools—Commissioner Casa Calvo—Names of streets in 1803—Cession of Louisiana announced to England—A teacher of mathematics and navigation—Governor Salcedo—Addresses of the inhabitants of New Orleans and of the planters of Louisiana—News from Santo Domingo—Extracts from Laussat's letters—Transfer to France—Laussat's proclamation—Laussat establishes a municipal government.



To give an idea of life in New Orleans in the beginning of the nineteenth century, we shall consult a volume of the "Moniteur de la Louisiane," from August 14, 1802, to November 26, 1803—Nos. 304 to 371.¹

On August 14, 1802, the tariff price of bread was a loaf of fifty-six ounces for one *escalin* (twelve and one half cents).

From August 7 to August 14 four vessels reached New Orleans—one from Providence, two from Jamaica, and one from New York. From August 11 to August 14 one vessel left New Orleans for Gonaïves.

There is an interesting advertisement of a French

school for young ladies, kept in Philadelphia by Mme. Rivardi, who announces that "she believes it superfluous to add that she will watch incessantly over the health and morals of her pupils."

There are advertisements of houses and plantations for sale, the latter on Bayou Road, near the city, and an announcement of a sale at auction of several negroes, horses, and two carriages. News from Europe is given, but no local news whatever.

From August 12 to August 21 four vessels reached New Orleans from Bordeaux, Campeche, and Philadelphia, and five sailed from New Orleans to Guadeloupe, Baltimore, Havana, and the Cap Français. In the next ten days thirteen vessels arrived and one departed. The places from which they came were New York, Havana, La Guayra, Bayonne, New London, Jamaica, St. Christopher, Cap Français, and Matanzas. The foreign commerce of New Orleans in 1802 was important, and it is interesting to note that nearly all the vessels—brigs, schooners, and frigates—were American.

A curious advertisement is that of M. Alpuente, who notifies the public that eight barrels of flour have been left at his house, during his absence, by a teamster whom he does not know. He invites the owners of the flour to come and get it, provided they can prove ownership and pay the cost of the advertisement.

Another proof of the absolute honesty of the Louisianians in 1802 is the notice for sale by Honoré Fortier and Paillet of a negro cook who is "such a stammerer that he renders impatient those who listen to him."

With No. 307 of the "Moniteur," September 4, 1802, begins a supplement, in which are to be found local notices but no political news as yet. An interesting notice is the dissolution of partnership of the firm of McDonogh, Jr., and Payne, on August 27, 1802. Everything concerning John McDonogh, the benefactor of the school-children in New Orleans, is important.

In 1802 the parish of St. Charles was called "St. Charles des Allemands." White sugar from Vera Cruz was sold from ten to twelve cents. And Mme. André, at the Place d'Armes, kept always on hand tablets of rouge for ladies. Also, to please the ladies principally, we may believe, M. Lafon, architect, announces to the public that he intends to build a theater in the center of the city. He invites the public to take shares in the enterprise, and issues an eloquent manifesto:

It appears to me superfluous to set forth the utility of comedy. There is no doubt that the theater is an amusement, and without diminishing in anything the entertainment it furnishes, it has a powerful influence on morals; it serves to extend the empire of reason and the sentiments of honesty; it represses the follies and corrects the vices of man. No one, it is said, is corrected by theatrical scenes. Woe to him for whom this principle is a truth! But if, indeed, the disposition is incorrigible, the exterior, at least, is not so. Men touch one another only by their surface, and everything would be in order if we could induce those who were born vicious, ridiculous, or wicked, to be so only within themselves. This is the aim which comedy proposes to itself.

In nearly every number of the "Moniteur" there are notices about runaway slaves. The description of the

slaves is given, and the African tribes to which they belonged are mentioned, such as the tribes of Nago and of Nar. One of the slaves, Pierre-Marc, from Senegal, aged thirty years, is said to be able to speak Mobilian, Spanish, French, and English.

On November 27, 1802, the Sieur D'Hébecourt announces that he has just opened a school where will be taught Latin, French, English, Geography, History, and Mathematics; also, if requested, the "agreeable talents" of music, drawing, and dancing. Mercier and Company announce that they have just received a lot of new books—very modern novels, works relating to the French Revolution, travels, etc. Everything pertaining to the Revolution and its results was interesting, and sabers *soi-disant à la Bonaparte* are offered for sale.

Two confectioners, on January 1, 1803, offer their goods to the public; and one, named Laplanche, wishes to sell preserves, liquors, Bologna sausages, and children's playthings. Another curious combination is that of M. Lartigue, dentist, who announces that he continues to practise his profession, and will receive in a superb *savane* horses or cattle at one dollar a head.

On February 5, 1803, the Sieur Duval offers his services for miniature portraits. He was probably the author of the admirable miniatures to be found in every Creole family in New Orleans. Ambroise Pardo, who calls himself a painter, was his contemporary.

On March 5, 1803, the "Moniteur" gives a complete list of the articles imported into New Orleans in the year 1801; the largest imports were coffee, 314,867 pounds

and soap, 322,500 pounds. The exports for 1801 are also given on March 12, 1803; the largest were sugar, 1,333,330 pounds, and cotton, 375,137 pounds. Of indigo, for a time the chief staple, only 80,572 pounds were exported. There were 44,294 pounds of tobacco from Kentucky, and 80,380 pounds in "carrots" from Louisiana, and large quantities of peltries of all kinds. The exports given did not include those in transit from American territory.

On March 8, 1803, the intendant forbade the export of flour, rice, dried vegetables, salt and smoked meats, lard, and bear's grease. Vessels were allowed to take only what they needed for their provision.

In March, 1803, the arrival of Captain-General Victor and his troops was expected at any moment, and the "very illustrious cabildo" thought of providing the people of the city with meat by selling that privilege at auction, provided the successful bidder bound himself to keep in the neighborhood of New Orleans a herd of one thousand heads of cattle, and to pay the usual taxes for butchering.

Victor and his troops never reached New Orleans; but the colonial prefect, Laussat, entered the passes of the Mississippi on board the brig *Le Surveillant*, on March 21, after a voyage of fifty-eight days, having touched at Santander and Cap Français.

On March 18, 1803, Governor Salcedo published very rigid police regulations. No one was permitted to be in the streets after ten o'clock at night without a light, and no more than three persons could be together after

that hour. Vagabonds were ordered to leave the city within three days, and the province within a month; and the negroes, both slaves and free, were rigidly watched.

By a decree of the Consuls, Louisiana was to be governed by three magistrates—a captain-general, a colonial prefect, and a commissioner of justice. The captain-general was to have under his immediate orders the land and sea forces, the militia, and the police. He was exclusively intrusted with the interior and exterior defense of Louisiana. The colonial prefect was exclusively intrusted with the civil administration and the police of the colony; and the commissioner of justice was to attend to the prompt administration of justice.

As soon as Governor Salcedo heard that the colonial prefect was coming up the river, he sent to meet him his oldest son, Don Manuel, a captain in the Spanish army, and Lieutenant Calderon; and the intendant, in his turn, sent Don Raphael Ramos, the commissioner of war, in the sloop of the custom-house. Laussat entered the city on Saturday, March 26, at four o'clock in the afternoon, and went to the governor's house, amid the firing of the artillery of the forts. Governor Salcedo received the colonial prefect, surrounded by his staff, the officers of the garrison and other troops, and the ecclesiastical and civil authorities. Laussat went afterward to the house of Bernard de Marigny, where he was to reside, and the governor almost immediately returned his visit. On the following days the prefect received the visits of the different official bodies and of the principal inhabitants, and in all his addresses he expressed the in-

tention of the French government to attend to the prosperity and the happiness of the colony. He announced that the captain-general would probably arrive by the middle of April, and he spoke in such a way of General Victor's character and views that his arrival was awaited with impatience. The prefect spent the rest of the week in visiting the public buildings and stores and in preparing with the governor provisions and quarters for the troops that were to accompany Victor. Mme. Laussat and her daughters arrived in sloops of the custom-house and of the government, and both the governor and the intendant endeavored to receive the prefect in a way worthy of his government and of theirs.

The following proclamation by Laussat is very interesting: ²

PROCLAMATION.

In the name of the French Republic. Laussat, Colonial Prefect, to the Louisianians.

LOUISIANIANS: Your separation from France marks one of the most shameful epochs of her annals, under a government already weak and corrupt, after an ignominious war, and as the result of a shameful peace. By the side of a cowardly and unnatural abandonment, you offered the contrast of a heroic fidelity and courage. All French hearts were touched, and they have never lost the remembrance of it. They exclaimed then, and have never ceased to exclaim since, that their blood flowed in your veins. As soon as they had recovered their dignity and reconquered their glory, by the Revolution and by a prodigious series of triumphs, they again turned their eyes toward you; you entered into their first negotiations; they wished that your retrocession should signalize their first peace. The time for it had not yet come. It

was necessary that a man should appear to whom nothing that is national, great, magnanimous and just would be strange or impossible; who, to the most eminent talent for winning victories, should unite the rarer talent to derive from them and to fix all the happiest results; who should give at once, by the ascendancy of his character, to enemies terror, and to allies confidence; who, with a penetrating genius, should perceive the true interests of his country; and who, with an immutable will, should embrace them; who should be born finally to replace France on her foundations, to reëstablish her in the entire extent of her limits, and to wash out all stains from her annals. That man presides to-day over our destinies, and from this moment, Louisianians, he assures yours. In order that they shall be beautiful and happy, it is sufficient to second, on this fortunate soil, the prodigalities of nature: such are the intentions of the French Government.

To live in peace and in friendship with all your neighbors, to protect your commerce, to encourage your agriculture, to people your deserts, to favor labor and industry, to respect properties and habits and opinions, to render homage to religion, to do honor to probity, to preserve to laws their empire, and to correct them only with moderation and with the light of experience, to maintain a diligent and firm police, to introduce a permanent order and economy in all the branches of public administration, to bind more closely every day the bonds which a common origin, the same customs, the same inclinations, establish between this colony and the mother country—that is, Louisianians, the honorable mission upon which your Captain-General (the General of Division Victor), your Colonial Prefect, and your Commissioner of Justice (the Citizen Aymé) congratulate themselves with being intrusted here.

The reputation of the Captain-General has preceded him. He was a companion in arms of the First Consul, and was distinguished by him from the beginning of the campaigns of the famous Army of Italy. In less fortunate days he astonished Suvarow, by precipitating his flight. He was finally one of the lieutenants of Bonaparte at the battle of Marengo. But with those titles that have made his name illustrious, he brings you,

Louisianians, the sincere desire to render it dear to you by all the virtues, the cares and the labors that, from the chiefs, may bring about the happiness of peoples. His ardor for your interests, the purity of his intentions, the correctness of his views, the affability of his manners, adding new merit to so much valor, and his military laurels, assure him your affection and your confidence.

He takes to you troops that have caused the earth, even as far as these distant shores, to resound with the renown of their valor and their exploits. Batavia, since the peace, has admired their good conduct and their excellent discipline; you will admire them like her. You will find at last, Louisianians, in the Commissioner of Justice, enlightenment, equity, impartiality, disinterestedness; he comes to you, known in advance, and powerfully recommended by the renown of his talents, of his banishment, and of his misfortunes. You will congratulate yourselves, therefore, in every respect, that you have become Frenchmen again; you will feel more, from day to day, the value of this beautiful title, object of envy over the whole globe.

We know, nevertheless, Louisianians, and we do not wish to conceal it, that, for thirty years, Spain, by the mildness of a generous government, has tried to make you forget the bloody fault of an agent unworthy of this noble nation. It is not we who will advise you to repay her with ingratitude. We shall endeavor to vie in beneficent efforts with the distinguished chiefs whom she gave you.

Your devotion to the French Republic, our common country, your gratitude to those who reunite you to it and who send us, the daily spectacle of your growing prosperity, will be the recompense to which we shall constantly aspire, for a zeal and trouble of which the only limits will be those of the accomplishment of our duties and of our wishes.

At New Orleans, 6th Germinal, year XI of the French Republic.

LAUSSAT.

By the Colonial Prefect, the officer of administration acting as secretary.

DAUGEROT.

PIERRE CLÉMENT DE LAUSSAT

1756-1835

Colonial Prefect and Commissioner of the French government, who received the Province of Louisiana from Spain on November 30, 1803, and transferred it to the United States at New Orleans, December 20, 1803. From a painting by Jean François Gille Colson, executed in 1786, belonging to his lineal descendant, Mr. A. Du Pré de Saint-Maur, Château de Bernadets, near Pau, France.



The *Argo*, a French vessel, arrived in April with munitions of war, but Victor did not appear. Meanwhile, Governor Salcedo and Intendant Morales gave splendid dinners to Laussat, who returned them with magnificence. Several ladies were the ornament of these feasts, and toasts to the King of Spain and to the First Consul were received with a thousand "Vivats!" which were repeated by the artillery of the city and of the port. The toast of the prefect to "the happiness of Louisiana" was received with rapture and was saluted with twenty-one guns. These days, marked with so much cordiality, were ended with music and dancing.

In April, 1803, C. Baligant, professor of drawing and chief sculptor of the port of Brest, arrived in New Orleans. In the month of May M. Visinier established a French and English school, and J. M. Bart an institution which he placed under the patronage of all honest people.

On May 7, 1803, the Marquis de Casa Calvo arrived to act as commissioner with Salcedo in delivering the province to Captain-General Victor. Casa Calvo's arrival was marked by ceremonious visits from all the officials in New Orleans.

On October 16, 1802, Intendant Morales had again taken away from the Americans the right of deposit in New Orleans, but on May 21, 1803, Morales announced that the King had not ratified the interdict. This order of Morales was the last vexatious act against the Americans, as news of the cession of the province to the United States was soon to reach Louisiana.

By a proclamation dated May 18, 1803, Don Manuel de Salcedo and Don Sebastian Calvo de la Puerta y O'Farrill, Marquis de Casa Calvo, announced that His Majesty had decided to retrocede Louisiana to the French Republic, and "that the cession of the colony and island of New Orleans would take place in the same manner in which France ceded to His Majesty the said colony and island; in accordance with which the limits of the two banks of the river St. Louis or Mississippi shall remain as they have remained according to article seven of the definitive treaty of peace concluded at Paris on February 10, 1763; and, consequently, the establishments from Manchac or Iberville River, as far as the line that separates the American territory from the domains of the King, remain in the power of Spain and annexed to West Florida."

The commissioners promise that the King will continue the pensions to widows and others, and they manifest the hope that the French government will allow the people of Louisiana to enjoy all the privileges they had possessed under the rule of Spain. We may remember that Louis XV, in ceding Louisiana to Charles III, had also been very solicitous for the welfare of his former subjects whom he was compelling to become Spaniards.

It is curious to note the names of the streets in New Orleans in July, 1803. The house and lot of Jean Gravier, suburb St. Mary, are for sale. There are seven lots fronting on Rue St. Charles, Rue des Pigeonniers, and Rue des Fourneaux. In September, 1803, Jean Gravier announces for sale houses and lots on the following

streets: Poydras, Calalou, Salcedo, Eviat, Giro, Briquerie, Cours du Cirque, Julie, Gravier, Fortier, and St. Charles.

On May 15, 1803, Rufus King, United States minister to England, announced to Lord Hawksbury the acquisition by the United States of the province of Louisiana from France, as it was possessed by Spain. The answer of the English government was very friendly.

By an advertisement of Bidetrenoulleau, "Place de l'Église," dated September 17, 1803, we may conclude that the Natchitoches tobacco and the Macouba were the best in Louisiana at that time. The same number of the "Moniteur" (No. 361) contains a remarkable announcement that a gold coin has been found, and will be returned to the owner if he pays the cost of advertising.

We have seen that in 1803 there were several schools and artists in New Orleans. On October 1, M. Guillaume, pupil of the celebrated Monge, offered his services to teach arithmetic, geometry, and navigation. He promised to explain facts about the sphere in each lesson. On October 8 Mme. Perrault opened a school for young ladies. As the Ursulines' school was flourishing, and the Spanish school was still in existence in Royal Street, the people of New Orleans in 1803 had good opportunities to instruct their children. On October 15, Regnier offered to teach the Louisianians the noble art of fencing.

In the same volume of the "Moniteur" the only advertisement about amusements, besides that of Lafon's proposed theater, is an invitation from Meyere, physicist, to come and see the "Invisible Woman" or the "Magic

Box." The last number of the volume, November 12, 1803, contains l'Abbé Roland's advertisement of his "Academy of Education." We have laid stress on this point to prove that the Louisianians of 1803 were certainly patrons of education.

Governor Salcedo, who had been mentioned as having received Laussat on his arrival, had been appointed governor on October 24, 1799. He had been King's lieutenant in the island of Teneriffe, and was brigadier-general of the royal armies. He arrived in New Orleans in June, 1801, and Casa Calvo, who had been governor *ad interim* from the death of Gayoso de Lemos, sailed for Havana. Intendant Lopez also left the province, and was succeeded by the contador Morales, who appears to have been a man of little tact. On November 26, 1802, Don Carlos Martinez Yrujo, Spanish minister at Washington, had written to Intendant Morales that he had received information from the Secretary of State that the port of New Orleans and the navigation of the Mississippi had been closed to the Americans. The Secretary had called attention to the bad consequences that Morales's order would produce, and to the claims that might arise for serious damage to the American commerce. On January 15, 1803, Morales had replied that he assumed sole responsibility for the order, as he wished to eradicate the numerous obstacles and abuses that resulted from the right of deposit.³

We have already mentioned Laussat's arrival in New Orleans on March 26, 1803, and we have related his reception by the Spanish authorities. The news of the ces-

sion of Louisiana to France would have been received with greater joy if it had not been that the colonists feared the fate of Santo Domingo,⁴ which had been ruined by the insurrection of the blacks. Bonaparte had issued a proclamation in which he said: "Inhabitants of Santo Domingo, whatever be your valor and your origin, you are all free, all equal before God and before the Republic." General Leclerc himself had said, on arriving in the island: "I promise liberty to all the inhabitants." Those fine promises were not kept, for shortly afterward slavery was reëstablished in Santo Domingo, and negroes were forbidden to enter France. Nevertheless, the news from the island was very disquieting to the Louisianians.

In spite of these anxieties of the colonists, Laussat received from the inhabitants of New Orleans, on April 9, 1803, the following address: ⁵

CITIZEN PREFECT: France has rendered justice to our sentiments, in believing in the unalterable attachment which we have preserved for her. Thirty-four years of a foreign domination have not weakened in our hearts the sacred love of country, and we return to-day under her banner with as much joy as we had grief when we had to part from it. Happy the colonists of Louisiana who have lived long enough to be witnesses of this reunion, which they have never ceased to desire and which satisfies their dearest wishes.

In an age so fertile in astonishing events, without doubt, things greater, more imposing, more memorable have happened, but nothing perhaps offers a picture as interesting, as touching, as that of victorious and triumphant France extending a protecting hand to children formerly cast away from her bosom by weakness and prevarication, and offering to share the fruits of a

glorious peace, which has terminated in such a brilliant manner the most bloody and the most terrible of revolutions.

You have signalized, Citizen Prefect, the return of the French Government by an authentic testimonial of its beneficent views. Your proclamation of the 6th Germinal, in announcing them to us, has penetrated us with gratitude for its paternal care. The first benefactions of the French Republic are already felt, the happy choice of the chiefs whom it puts at our head, and whose honorable reputation had reached us, the picked troops it sends to protect our hearths, are sure guaranties of the happiness and prosperity it prepares for us. We offer to it in return our devotion, our obedience and our love, and we swear to render ourselves forever worthy of belonging to it.

The French Republic would perhaps attach less value to the homage of our fidelity, if it saw us relinquish without any sentiment of regret the sovereign who has lavished his favors upon us during the time he has reigned over us. This culpable indifference is not in our hearts: the regret at losing him occupies a space beside the joy of regaining our former country; and it is by preserving an eternal remembrance of his favors, that we wish to render ourselves worthy of the benefits and attachment of the French Republic.

This address, which was written with singular simplicity and dignity, was signed by the principal inhabitants of New Orleans. We give here the names of all the signers: "J. Lanthois, Jh Faurie, M. Fortier, J. G. Duser, B. Giraudeau, G. Debuys, C. B. Dufau, J. Dupuy, H. Fortier, Pierre et Ant. Carraby, A. Peytavin, Cavelier père, F. Duplessis, Labatut, M. Lefebvre, J. Gournier, Paul Lanusse, Jean Archinard, Stephen Zacharie, Zénon Cavelier, N. Boudousquié, Guerbois, J. B. Déjan, J. F. Merieult, J. Soulié, Lille Sarpy, Roques, Bougand,

Durel aîné, Charpin, F. Jacob, Pierre Hardy, Hazeur frères, Chs Torsty, Galebert, P. Isaac Blois, Fortin, Le Fort, Boré, P. Paillet, Joseph Gravier, Antonin Jung, D. Desessarts, L. Caillavet, Sn Ducourneau, A. Harang, Ths. Porée, Lauve et Gaillard, Joseph Tricou, Vander, S. Girod, Boutte, Robelot, D. Barran, Harrell, Jacques Guesnon, J. B. Verret, R. J. Ducros, J. Hiriard, J. B. Passement, Étienne Trépagnier, L. S. Fontaine, Paillette, Duplessis, Jean Paillet, Jacques Goujon, Bosonet, Arnaud Magnon, P. Cazelare, Mondet, A. Baudin, Pierre Millet, Jean Louis Maroteaux, J. Livaudais, Livaudais père, P. Derbigny, N. Broutin, St. Avid, Bernard, Ene Plauché, L. Chabot, Cortés, Ant. Boudousquié, François Blache, C. Déjan, Fortier fils, L. Courcelles, Baritot jeune, L. Cornu, Joseph Piseros, Chs. Parent, Baptiste Durel, A. Garidel."

The planters of Louisiana, in their turn, sent an address to Laussat, dated 16th Germinal, year eleven, as follows: ⁶

CITIZEN PREFECT: Your proclamation of the 6th Germinal, giving us the certain assurance of our reunion with the French Republic, has given our souls the rapture of supreme felicity; it was the object of our most ardent desires. The old men repeat on all sides: "We may die now, we are French," and the young men: "The dawn of happiness is rising for us." Already their young hearts are inflamed with the sentiments that distinguish true republicans. Our common mother, in sending us some of the soldiers who have conquered liberty, must expect us to know how to imitate them when it shall be necessary to defend it. Following the footsteps of the warrior of Marengo, we can know only victory or death.

Thanks be to the Hero who directs the brilliant destinies of France. He has attended to the happiness of the Louisianians, and we reënter the bosom of our country. We shall see floating on our shores that banner which has guided our brave brothers in the midst of combats. Our hearts, truly French, have not ceased to follow them at least by our vows. We groaned with them when the awful reign of anarchy was tearing the bloody flanks of our dear and unfortunate mother, and we gave ourselves up to the greatest joy on hearing that the immortal Bonaparte had at last seized with a firm hand the helm of the ship of the Republic, tossed about for so long a time by the storms of faction.

We should be unworthy of that name which brings us glory, if we did not imitate the example of generosity which you give us, in acknowledging that we have not to complain of the Spanish Government. We have not groaned under the iron rod of despotism. Our unfortunate relatives and friends have, it is true, red-dened with their innocent blood the soil they wished to preserve for France. A feeble and unfeeling Government wished to tear us away from her, but it is only to the atrocious soul of a foreigner, and to an extreme abuse of confidence, that we owed our misfortunes.⁷ Plaintive shades, if you still wander in the places that witnessed your execution, forget your sorrows; your children, your friends, are recalled in the bosom of that cherished mother, and their tears of gratitude will wash out the blood you lost. Long ago we proved to the Spaniards, on the plains of Baton Rouge, Mobile, and Pensacola, that we do not consider them accomplices of those horrors. Bonds of relationship and of friendship unite us to most of them. Let them still enjoy, on the soil of liberty, all they possess, and let them share with us the favors of our brothers.

The address of the planters, like that of the inhabitants of New Orleans, did justice to the mild and pater-

nal government of Spain after O'Reilly's departure from the colony. It was signed as follows: "A. Trouard, D. Pain. In my name and in that of the planters of St. John the Baptist parish, second German Coast, Manuel Andry. Jacques Delagroue, Noel Perret, P. St. Martin fils, L. Foucher, Chs. Perret."

It was General Victor who had been empowered to receive the province from the Spanish commissioners, and not the colonial prefect; therefore the latter, in the absence of Victor, was without authority, and Salcedo and Casa Calvo governed the colony in the name of the King of Spain. We quote here a few extracts from Laussat's letters written during his stay in Louisiana.

On his arrival he wrote to the minister:⁸

We have been received everywhere, by compatriots either by birth or by origin, with testimonials of the most expansive and generous affection. I have found only hearts entirely French, and, it must be said, entirely Bonaparte. It is impossible to speak for an instant of the Republic, of its wars, of its treaties of peace, of its destinies, without hearing his name continually mentioned and always in terms of admiration. We whom he has sent are seen in him, and we are received on his account with joy and hope.

On the 22d Germinal he wrote:⁹

The population here is extremely active, industrious, and full of emulation. Everything is to be done, but I am convinced that it will amply repay the government for its advances and its cares. The solid policy that has prevailed at the head of France after several years of an unfortunate experience concerning religious worship, its establishments, its ministers, its monasteries,

its properties, has produced here the most happy effect. One of the most marked has been the preservation of the convent of the nuns of St. Ursula, who are the only resource this country enjoys for the education of girls. From the moment of my arrival this has been a great event about which public joy has been loudly manifested. I owe also an honorable testimonial to the customs, the spirit of toleration, the principles of submission of the ecclesiastical chiefs and notably of the vicar-general, Dr. Thomas Flasset. Their conduct on this occasion is such as the government might desire it to be.

Laussat says that everything in New Orleans is so immoderately dear that his salary of fifty thousand francs, however large it may appear, will be hardly sufficient if he wishes to conform to the dignity of his office, the intentions and the greatness of his government. On the 5th Messidor he says very sensibly:¹⁰

The repeated introduction of negroes in a new colony under the tropics is, without doubt, a present advantage; but if this colony has such a climate and soil that the African race is not indispensable to its cultivation, one finds sooner or later that this introduction has produced great harm. Such is the case with Louisiana.

He adds that white men would have sufficed for the cultivation of the sugar-cane.

In the summer of 1803 rumors reached Louisiana that the province had been sold to the United States. Laussat would not believe it, and he wrote:¹¹

The news of the cession to the United States is an impudent and incredible falsehood, and it is only a canard put forth by

the party which, at this time of elections and on the expiration of Jefferson's Presidency, has thought, by divulging this news suddenly, to assist the partisans of the President.

Laussat was mistaken. Louisiana had indeed been ceded by France to the United States; the treaty of cession had been signed at Paris on April 30, 1803.

Judge Gayarré quotes a despatch from the colonial prefect, in which the latter seems to be hostile to the continuation of the right of deposit granted to Americans. Laussat said:¹²

In conformity with the right reserved by Spain to establish the place of deposit elsewhere after the expiration of a certain time, should it be required by her interests, it would be proper to designate, instead of New Orleans, the Balize, or some other untenable spot.

Judge Gayarré, however, does not mention the following despatch, which appears to indicate that Laussat was much more hostile to the English than to the Americans:¹³

My positive aim about the Anglo-American deposit is briefly this: To favor extremely the Anglo-Americans in their exports by the river, because they can be only of products and goods of their Western States; to embarrass them as much as possible in their imports, because they will always be composed essentially of English goods. The more the modifications of the treaty of October 27, 1795, should approach this result, the more would they be to the interest of the Republic, either in this country, where it should seek continually to obtain the affection of the people, already numerous, by whom the left bank of the Mississippi is occupied, or in the entire world, where the Republic struggles alone against the commercial despotism of its rival—England.

Laussat was making fine projects for the development of Louisiana by encouraging immigration, and he even asked that families be sent to him from the new Rhine departments, if they wished to emigrate. To his great surprise, he received from the French Government a letter announcing the cession of the province to the United States.

In this letter the minister said that he had written the day before to Laussat, announcing that he had been appointed commissioner to take possession of Louisiana, and that full powers had been sent to him, as well as an order from the King of Spain to the governor of the province relative to the transfer.¹⁴ A copy was sent the colonial prefect of the treaty between the French Republic and the United States, and the reasons for the cession of the province were given. These were, briefly, as follows: The desire of averting war in North America, of settling some points of controversy between the Republic and the United States, and of preventing all new causes of controversy that might have arisen from the neighborhood of the French colonies; the need which the latter have of men, agriculture, and aid; finally, unavoidable circumstances, forethought, and the intention of compensating, by an advantageous arrangement, the inevitable loss of a country which war was about to put nation.

ucted to call the attention of the
l disposition of the First Consul,
y. He was informed that he had
been appointed commissioner to deliver the province to

the United States, and as there were no French troops in Louisiana, he was instructed to proceed, as soon as possible, to the transfer from Spain, and to deliver the province on the same day to the American Government.

The act of transfer took place on Wednesday, November 30, 1803 (8 Frimaire, an XII), at twelve o'clock. In the morning, according to Barbé-Marbois, the Spanish militia and the regular troops were placed in battle array in the square in front of the city hall,—that building called the Cabildo at present in New Orleans,—which will be forever celebrated in American history. Within its walls took place the transfer of Louisiana from Spain to France, and from France to the United States.

The Spanish commissioners, Salcedo and Casa Calvo, and Laussat, the French commissioner, arrived at the city hall at twelve o'clock, and the ceremonies of the transfer took place with great solemnity. Three chairs were placed in the council-chamber, and Governor Salcedo sat in the middle one, with Casa Calvo and Laussat in the others. The French commissioner handed the governor his credentials from the First Consul, and the order of the King dated October 15, 1802, for the delivery of the province. These papers were read publicly, and Salcedo, rising from his seat, handed Laussat the keys of New Orleans. Casa Calvo then announced that the inhabitants of Louisiana who should not wish to retire under the Spanish domination were absolved from their oath of fidelity to the Catholic King. The three commissioners afterward went to the main balcony of the city hall, and the Spanish flag was lowered from a high staff in the center of the

Place d'Armes, and the French flag hoisted to the top. Volleys of artillery saluted both flags. The French troops were represented only by a few officers.

In his narrative of these proceedings Judge Gayarré says:

The square was occupied by the Spanish troops and some of the militia of the colony. It was remarked that the militia had been mustered with difficulty, and did not exceed one hundred and fifty men. It was the indication of an unfavorable feeling, which had been daily gaining strength, and which Laussat attributed in his despatches to the intrigues of the Spanish authorities. Although the weather had been tempestuous in the preceding night and in the morning, and continued to be threatening, the crowd around the public square was immense, and filled not only the streets, but also the windows, and even the very tops of the neighboring houses.

The procès-verbal of the proceedings was drawn up in French and in Spanish, and signed by Salcedo, Casa Calvo, and Laussat.

In a despatch to Minister Miguel Cayetano Soler, dated December 5, 1803, Intendant Morales says:¹⁵

On November 30, at 12 o'clock, took place the transfer of the province. There was not a single demonstration of joy when the French flag was raised, and there were many tears when the Spanish flag was taken down.

He relates that on December 1 Laussat celebrated the event with a ball and a supper, when many persons stayed at his house until six o'clock in the morning of December 2. Morales says he expressed to Laussat his surprise that

he should have taken possession of the province before the arrival of the American commissioners, and the colonial prefect replied that he had done so in order to convince the cabinet of Great Britain that the transfer had been formal and not virtual. On December 4 there was a solemn mass at the cathedral, attended by the prefect and the French officials and a detachment of militia, and the prefect required of the bishop¹⁶ that, in the antiphone where prayer is said for the King, the names of the Republic and of the First Consul be substituted for that of the King of Spain. The bishop refused to do this, and by a compromise a French priest who was at that time in New Orleans sang the mass.

Governor Salcedo received orders,¹⁷ as soon as the transfer to France should be accomplished, to go to the Canary Islands to enjoy his retreat, and the Marquis de Casa Calvo was intrusted with the settlement of the boundaries of the province. From that time, says Laus-sat, the marquis displayed in his relations with him "a great deal of nobility, of grace, and even of magnificence," and as a proof of these pleasant relations the prefect sent to Paris copies of invitations to balls given by Casa Calvo in his honor, and by him in honor of Casa Calvo.¹⁸ To give an idea of the customs and manners of 1803, we reproduce here those invitations in the original:

El Marqués de Casa Calvo, Comisario de S. M. C., espera merecer de la atencion de V. se servira acompañarle el dia 8 del corriente á las siete de la noche en la Casa de Bayle, en la qual obsequia al Señor Prefecto Colonial y Comisario de la Republica Francesa por la toma de posesion de esta Provincia.

M.—Le Citoyen Laussat, Préfet Colonial, Commissaire du gouvernement français, pour la reprise de la Louisiane des mains de l'Espagne et sa remise aux États-Unis, vous prie de participer, chez lui, Jeudi Prochain, 23 Frimaire (15 Décembre) à une soirée, qu'il dédie à M. le Marquis de Casa Calvo, Brigadier des Armées Espagnoles, l'un des Commissaires de S. M. C., en retour du noble et brillant accueil qu'il a fait en lui ces jours derniers au Représentant de la Nation Française, et en signe de l'union et de l'amitié qui règnent entre leurs deux Augustes et Puissants Gouvernements.

A sept heures du soir.

NOUVELLE-ORLÉANS, le 19 Frimaire an XII
et 11 Décembre, 1803.

The prefect adds that Casa Calvo's ball is said to have cost fifteen thousand francs. Laussat himself was not less magnificent in his entertainment, if we believe the testimony of C. C. Robin, who was in Louisiana at the time of the transfer of the province, and who gives an interesting account of the customs and manners of 1803.¹⁹ Speaking of the prefect and his wife, and of the receptions given by them, Robin says:

The Louisiana ladies appeared there with a magnificence that was astonishing in such a colony, and that magnificence could be compared with what is most brilliant in our principal towns in France. The stature of the ladies, generally tall, and their fair complexion, which was set off to advantage by their light dresses adorned with flowers and rich embroideries, gave a fairy-like appearance to these festivities. The last one, especially, astonished me by its magnificence. After the tea, the concert, the dances, the guests descended at midnight into a hall where, on a table of sixty to eighty covers, rose from the midst of

rocks the temple of Good Faith, surrounded with columns, and surmounted by a dove; underneath was the statue of the allegorical goddess. But further, outside of that hall, the brilliance of the lights attracted the guests under an immense gallery closed by awnings. Forty to fifty dishes, served in different styles, were offered to the choice of four or five hundred guests who were assembled in little groups.

Robin speaks of the products of Louisiana, and says that in 1802 there were seventy-five sugar-houses in the colony, producing five million pounds yearly. He calculates how much sugar can be produced in Louisiana, and makes brilliant predictions for the future of that industry. A century later Robin's predictions were realized, and there were in the State of Louisiana plantations that produced each more sugar than was produced in the whole colony in 1802.

The events that took place in 1803 were of such deep significance for the future of Louisiana and of the United States that, as much as possible, we shall allow the men of that time to relate their history themselves. On December 12 Laussat announced the transfer to France on November 30,²⁰ and added:

Consequently, Citizen Minister, the domination of the Republic is established in fact and in right in Lower Louisiana, which comprises essentially its population and its cultivation. Louisiana is in truth only there; there are not twenty soldiers in the upper posts, including the Illinois, which are seven hundred leagues from here. The French name is blessed; that of Bonaparte excites enthusiasm; we are regretted, and we shall be very much regretted. All repeat it to me and at every minute; one sees only

uniforms and cockades of our national guards; but what is due to our government will be generally felt, and the Louisianians will remain forever attached in heart to the French.

On the day of the transfer, November 30, 1803, Laus-sat addressed this proclamation to the Louisianians:

The mission that brought me among you across the sea, through a distance of seven thousand and five hundred miles, that mission on which I had long rested so many fond hopes and so many ardent wishes for your happiness, is now totally changed; and the one with which I am now charged, less gratifying but still equally flattering to me, offers me one source of consolation, which springs from the reflection that in its results it will be more advantageous to you.

The Commissioners of His Catholic Majesty, in conformity with the powers and orders which they and I have respectively received, have just delivered to me possession of the province. You see the flag of the French Republic now displayed, and you hear the repeated reports of her guns, announcing to you, to-day, on all sides, the return of the French domination. It will be for an instant only, Louisianians, and I am on the eve of transferring the possession of this colony to the Commissioners of the United States. They are near at hand—I expect them soon.

The approaching struggle of a war begun under the most sanguinary and terrible auspices, and threatening the safety of the four quarters of the world, had induced the French Government to turn its attention to Louisiana, and to reflect on her destinies. Considerations of prudence and humanity, connecting themselves with those of a more vast and durable policy,—worthy, in one word, of the man whose genius weighs, at this very hour, in its scales, the fate of so many great nations,—have given a new direction to the beneficent intentions of France toward Louisiana. She has ceded it to the United States of America. Preserve thus,

Louisianians, the precious pledge of the friendship which cannot fail to grow from day to day between the two republics, and which must so powerfully contribute to their common repose and their common prosperity.

The third article of the treaty of cession cannot escape your attention. It says: "That the inhabitants of the ceded territories shall be incorporated into the Union of the United States, and admitted, as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Federal Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the advantages and immunities of citizens of the United States; and that, in the mean time, they shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberties and property, and in the unrestrained exercise of the religion they profess." Thus are you, Louisianians, suddenly invested with the rights and privileges appertaining to a free constitution and government, secured and guaranteed by force of arms, cemented by treaties, and tested by time and experience. You will be incorporated with a nation already numerous and powerful, renowned besides for its industry, its patriotism, and the degree of civilization and knowledge it possesses, which by its rapid progress seems destined to the most brilliant rank that a people ever enjoyed on the face of the earth. It has been happily blessed with such a position that its success and its splendor cannot, at least for a long time, interfere with its felicity.

However benevolent and pure may be the intentions of a mother country, you must be aware that an immense distance between the two secures liability to oppression and exactions, and prevents the correction of abuses. The facility of concealing these has a tendency to corrupt the man who at first looks upon them with aversion and fear. From this day forth, you cease to be exposed to this fatal and dangerous disadvantage.

By the nature of the government of the United States, and of the privileges upon the enjoyment of which you immediately enter, you will have, even under a provisional government, popular rulers, whose acts you will be at liberty to censure, or to protest

against with impunity, and who will be always in need of your esteem, your suffrages, and your affection.

The public affairs and interests, far from being interdicted to your consideration, will be your own affairs and interests, on which the opinions of wise and impartial men will be sure to exercise, in the long run, a preponderating influence, and to which you could not even remain indifferent without exposing yourselves to bitter repentance.

The time will soon come when you will establish for yourselves a form of government which, although respecting the sacred principles consecrated in the social pact of the Federal Union, will be adapted to your manners, your usages, your climate, your soil, and your peculiar localities.

It will not be long before you shall feel the advantages of an upright, impartial, and incorruptible administration of justice, in which the invariable forms and the publicity of judicial proceedings, together with the restraints carefully imposed over an arbitrary application of the laws, will coöperate with the moral and national character of the judges and jurors, in affording to the citizens the most effective security for their persons and property.

The principles and legislation of the American people, the encouragement they have given to the interests of agriculture and commerce, and the progress they have made in those two departments of industry, are well known to you, Louisianians, particularly from the many advantages you have derived from them for some years past.

There is not, and there cannot be, a metropolitan government which will not establish a more or less exclusive colonial monopoly. On the contrary, from the United States you have to expect a boundless freedom of exportation, and only such duties on your imports as may be required by your public wants and the necessity of protecting your home industry. The result of unlimited competition will be to cause you to buy cheap while selling dear, and your country will become an immense warehouse or place of

deposit, affording you unlimited profits. The Nile of America, the Mississippi, which flows, not through parched deserts of sand, but through the most extensive and the most fertile plains of the new world, will soon see its bosom darkened with a thousand ships belonging to all the nations of the earth, and mooring at the quays of another Alexandria.

Among them your eyes will, I hope, Louisianians, always distinguish with complacency the French flag, and your hearts will never cease to rejoice at the sight of its glorious folds. This we firmly hope. I solemnly profess it here in the name of my country and government.

Bonaparte, by stipulating in the seventh article of the treaty of cession, that the French shall be permitted, during twelve years, to trade in this province without paying higher duties than the citizens of the United States, and exactly on the same footing, had, as one of his principal aims, that of giving to the ancient relations existing between the French of Louisiana and the French of Europe sufficient opportunity and time for renewing, strengthening and perpetuating themselves. A new bond of union will be formed between us from one continent to the other, the more satisfactory and durable from the fact that it will be entirely founded on a constant reciprocity of sentiments, services, and advantages. Your children, Louisianians, will be our children, and our children will be yours. You will send yours to perfect their education and their talents among us, and we will send ours to you to increase your forces and, by contributing their share to your labors and industry, assist you in wresting from an unsubdued wilderness its reluctant tributes.

It has been gratifying to me thus to describe, somewhat at length, the advantages that are secured to you, in order to soothe your complaints of being forsaken, and the affectionate regrets which a sincere attachment for the country of your ancestors has caused so many of you to express. France and her government will hear of it with gratitude and with corresponding love. But you will be convinced ere long that, by the treaty of cession, she

has conferred upon you the most eminent and most memorable of blessings.

The French Republic is thus the first to give to modern times the example of voluntarily emancipating a colony, in imitation of the liberal policy pursued toward those colonies whose existence we love to recall to memory, as constituting one of the most brilliant periods of the days of antiquity. Thus, now and for the future, may a Frenchman and a Louisianian never meet, in any part of the world, without a mutual feeling of tender emotion, and without exchanging the affectionate appellation of "brothers"! May this word hereafter be the only one sufficiently expressive to convey an adequate idea of their eternal friendship and reciprocal reliance!

On the same day that Laussat was put in possession of Louisiana, November 30, 1803, he issued the proclamation quoted above and abolished the *cabildo*. He instituted instead a municipal government, as follows: Étienne de Boré, mayor; Destréhan, first *adjoint*; Sauvé, second *adjoint*; members of the Council, Livaudais, Petit Cavelier, Michel Fortier, Villeré, Johns, Donaldson, Faurie, Allard, Tureaud, and John Watkins. Labatut was treasurer, and Pierre Derbigny was secretary.

The Black Code, given to the province at the time of the French domination, was maintained by Laussat. The prefect accepted the services of a company of infantry for the preservation of order in New Orleans, comprised of about one hundred and twenty American citizens under the command of Daniel Clark, the consul. Bellechasse was made colonel of the militia, and all the officers were recommissioned by Laussat.

Although Louisiana was soon to be transferred to the

United States, it was important that in the mean time it should not be left without a government, and the French colonial prefect administered the affairs of the province with tact and energy. From November 30, 1803, Laussat was expecting at any moment the arrival of the American commissioners, to whom he had been ordered to deliver the province. The transfer from France to the United States was accomplished on December 20, 1803.

CHAPTER X

THE CESSION TO THE UNITED STATES

Withdrawal of right of deposit—Absolute need of the Mississippi—Livingston's prophetic words—Excitement in the United States—Jefferson's message—James Monroe sent to France—Address of Ross in the Senate—Debates—Bonaparte renounces Louisiana—Livingston's conversation with Talleyrand and Barbé-Marbois—Bonaparte prepares article third of the treaty—The treaty signed—Spain objects.



WE have mentioned the order of Intendant Morales, dated October 16, 1802, withdrawing from the Americans the right of deposit at New Orleans, which had been granted by the treaty of 1795. Although the King, on March 1, 1803, disapproved of the order of Morales, the excitement in the West occasioned by the intendant's injudicious order brought about finally the cession of Louisiana to the United States. As the news of the cession of the province to France was now generally known, it was believed that the withdrawal of the right of deposit had taken place at the request of the French government, which desired to exclude the Americans from the port of New Orleans.¹ For some time there had been causes of dissension between the two republics. Corsairs had been permitted by the Directory to capture American ships in the ports of

the French colonies, and in 1799 the Government of the United States had retaliated by sanctioning the capture of French vessels. Bonaparte, fortunately, put an end to those hostilities by an agreement signed on September 30, 1800. It was stipulated that indemnities should be paid for any illegal captures; but in 1802 the "spoliation claims," as they were called, had not yet been settled, and the dissension with France still existed.

The population east of the Mississippi in 1802 comprised about eight hundred thousand souls, and they had an absolute need of the navigation of the Mississippi. They declared that the river belonged to them, that its tributaries flowed through their lands, and that its mouth was the only outlet for their waters. They said that if Congress did not protect them, they would take measures to protect themselves, and threats of taking possession of New Orleans were freely made.

Robert R. Livingston had been sent as minister to France in 1801; but he had been unable to obtain any definite information about the cession of Louisiana to France, and on May 1, 1802, Secretary of State Madison wrote to him to inquire into the extent of the cession, "particularly whether it includes the Floridas as well as New Orleans." The minister was also instructed to "endeavor to ascertain the price at which these, if included in the cession, would be yielded to the United States." "It would be," added Madison; "a most precious acquisition."

Livingston prepared a memoir on Louisiana to show that it would not be to the interest of France to acquire

the province, and he gave a copy of his memoir to Joseph Bonaparte, who showed it to the First Consul. The latter read the paper and expressed his desire to be on good terms with the United States. Meanwhile, Livingston was writing prophetic words to James Madison:

I have every reason to believe that the Floridas are not included. They will, for the present at least, remain in the hands of Spain. There never was a government with which less could be done by negotiation than here. There is no people, no legislature, no counselors. One man is everything. He seldom asks advice, and never hears it unasked. His ministers are mere clerks; and his legislature and counselors parade officers. Though the sense of every reflecting man about him is against this wild expedition, no one dares to tell him so. Were it not for the uneasiness it excites at home, it would give me none; for I am persuaded that the whole will end in a relinquishment of the country, and transfer of the capital to the United States.

Daniel Clark arrived in France at that time and saw General Victor, who had been appointed Captain-General of Louisiana. Clark appears to have obtained little information from Victor; and Madison, on November 27, wrote to Charles Pinckney, the American minister at Madrid, with regard to the order of Intendant Morales concerning the right of deposit at New Orleans. Speaking of the Western people, Madison said: "The Mississippi to them is everything. It is the Hudson, the Delaware, the Potomac, and all the navigable rivers of the Atlantic States, formed into one stream."

Livingston, in Europe, had obtained little satisfaction from the French government with regard to its inten-

tions concerning Louisiana. In the United States the excitement and the interest in the matter were growing, and on December 15, 1802, President Jefferson, in a message to Congress, expressed himself as follows: "The cession of the Spanish province of Louisiana to France, which took place in the course of the late war, will, if carried into effect, make a change in the aspect of our foreign relations, which will doubtless have just weight in any deliberations of the legislature connected with that subject." Again, on December 22, 1802, in a message to the House of Representatives, the President said he was "aware of the obligation to maintain in all cases the rights of the nation, and to employ for that purpose those just and honorable means which belong to the character of the United States." To this message the House of Representatives answered that they relied with perfect confidence on the wisdom and vigilance of the Executive, and that they held it to be "their duty to express their unalterable determination to maintain the boundaries and the rights of navigation and commerce through the river Mississippi, as established by existing treaties."

It was not known, says Barbé-Marbois, whether France would attempt to claim new frontiers to its province and revive old titles contrary to the interests of the United States. The harm done to the inhabitants of New Orleans by Morales's prohibition order caused the intendant to modify it, and he rendered it practically inoperative, but still the alarm caused by it continued among the Western people. There were persons in the United

States who were more friendly to England than to France; but Jefferson believed it would be to the interest of the American Republic to be on good terms with the French government, and he was confident that the difficulty about Louisiana could be settled amicably. He resolved, therefore, to send an envoy extraordinary to Paris. He chose for that mission his friend James Monroe, and on January 10, 1803, asked him to accept it as a great sacrifice, expressing the unbounded confidence which the administration and the people of the West had in him.

In the Senate of the United States there were animated discussions about Louisiana in February, 1803, and James Ross, of Pennsylvania, delivered a vehement address on the subject, February 14. He said, among other things:

To the free navigation of the Mississippi we had an undoubted right from nature, and from the position of our western country. This right and the right of deposit in the island of New Orleans had been acknowledged and fixed by treaty in 1795. That treaty had been in actual operation and execution for many years; and now, without any pretense of abuse or violation on our part, the officers of the Spanish government deny that right, refuse the place of deposit, and add the most offensive of all insults by forbidding us from landing on any part of their territory and shutting us out as a common nuisance.

He maintained that the command of the navigation of the river ought to be in the hands of the Americans, and added:

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THOMAS JEFFERSON

1743-1826

Third President of the United States, who acquired Louisiana from France in 1803. From a painting by Rembrandt Peale, executed in 1803 (the year of the transfer), and now in the possession of the New York Historical Society.



Why not seize, then, what is so essential to us as a nation? Why not expel the wrong-doers?—wrong-doers by their own confession, to whom by seizure we are doing no injury. Paper contracts, or treaties, have proved too feeble. Plant yourselves on the river, fortify the banks, invite those who have an interest at stake to defend it; do justice to yourselves when your adversaries deny it; and leave the event to Him who controls the fate of nations.

On February 15 a confidential message was received by the Senate from the House, transmitting a bill passed by that body, by which two million dollars were placed at the disposal of the President for the purchase of the island of Orleans and the provinces of East and West Florida. On February 16 Mr. Ross introduced in the Senate a series of resolutions, very warlike in tone, which authorized the President to take immediate possession of the island of Orleans or the adjacent territories, and to call into active service the militia of South Carolina, Georgia, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, or the Mississippi Territory.

On February 22 Samuel White, of Delaware, supported the resolutions of Mr. Ross and read a paper signed by Carlos de Grandpré, which declared that he had received orders from the intendant not to allow any commerce between the citizens of the United States and the subjects of the King of Spain. Among the opponents of the resolutions was James Jackson, of Georgia, who was in favor of trying every possible method of obtaining redress before going to war. He spoke of Bonaparte in this interesting and curious manner:

Sir, we have been told much by the gentleman from Delaware of Bonaparte; that he is the hero of France, the conqueror of Italy, and the tyrant of Germany, and that his legions are invincible. We have been told that we must hasten to take possession of New Orleans whilst in the hands of the sluggish Spaniards, and not wait until it is in the iron grasp of the Caesar of modern times. But much as I respect the fame and the exploits of that extraordinary man, I believe we should have little more to fear from him, should it be necessary in the end to contend with him for the possession of New Orleans, than from the sluggish Spaniards. Bonaparte, sir, in our Southern country, would be lost, with all his martial talents; his hollow squares and horse artillery would be of little service to him in the midst of our morasses and woods, where he would meet, not with the campaign country of Italy, with the little rivulets commanded by his cannon, which he could pass at leisure, not with fortified cities which command surrounding districts, but with rivers miles wide, and swamps, mortal or impenetrable to Europeans. With a body of only ten thousand of our expert riflemen around him, his laurels would be torn from his brow, and he would heartily wish himself once more on the plains of Italy.

Gouverneur Morris, of New York, was in favor of violent measures, but his colleague, Mr. Clinton, spoke in favor of peace. His words seem strange to us who have witnessed the events of 1898. "Of all characters," said he, "I think that of a conquering nation least becomes the American people. What, sir! shall America go forth, like another Don Quixote, to relieve distressed nations, and to rescue from the fangs of tyranny the powerful states of Britain, Spain, Austria, Italy, the Netherlands? Shall she, like another Phæton, madly ascend the chariot of Empire, and spread desolation and

horror over the world? Let us, sir, never carry our arms into the territory of other nations, unless we are compelled to take them up in self-defense. A pacific character is of all others most important for us to establish and maintain."

On February 25 the resolutions of Mr. Ross were rejected, and milder ones were adopted. They had been prepared by Mr. Breckenridge, of Kentucky.

In spite of the excitement in Congress and in the West, Jefferson acted with moderation and wisdom and had great confidence in Monroe's mission to France. He had foreseen the rupture of the peace of Amiens, and understood the influence which this event would have on the destiny of Louisiana. James Monroe sailed from New York on March 8, 1803.

In Europe hostilities between France and England were again imminent, and Bonaparte knew that, in case of war, Louisiana would be at the mercy of the English. He knew that France would lose the province, and he resolved to prevent that loss from being to the advantage of the English. He wished, however, to be enlightened on the subject, and he consulted two of his ministers who had resided in the United States—Barbé-Marbois and Decrès. The latter had served in the French army during the war of the American Revolution, and the former had served in a diplomatic capacity in the United States. Barbé-Marbois had married an American wife. We quote freely from his account of these important events:

On April 10, 1803, Easter Sunday, after attending to the solemnity of the day and the exigencies of the ceremonial, he

called those two counselors, and spoke to them with that vehemence and that passion which he exhibited especially in political affairs. "I know all the value of Louisiana," said he, "and I have wished to repair the error of the French negotiator who abandoned it in 1763. A few lines of a treaty have given it back to me, and hardly have I recovered it when I must expect to lose it. But if I lose it, it will be dearer one day to those who compel me to abandon it than to those to whom I wish to deliver it. The English have successively taken away from France—Canada, Cape Breton, Newfoundland, Acadia, the richest parts of Asia. They are agitating Santo Domingo. They shall not have the Mississippi, which they covet. Louisiana is nothing in comparison with their aggrandizements all over the globe, and yet the jealousy which they feel at the return of that colony under French domination announces to me that they wish to take possession of it, and it is thus that they will begin the war. They have twenty vessels in the Gulf of Mexico, they sail over those seas as sovereigns, while our affairs at Santo Domingo have grown worse every day since the death of Leclerc. The conquest of Louisiana would be easy if they merely took the trouble to land there. I have not a moment to lose if I wish to place it out of their reach. I do not know that they are not there already. It is their custom, and as for me, if I were in their place, I should not have waited. I wish, if it is still time, to take away from them even the thought of ever possessing that colony. I am thinking of ceding it to the United States. Hardly shall I be able even to say that I am ceding it to them, for it is not yet in our possession. If I leave any time to our enemies, I shall transmit only a vain title to those republicans whose friendship I seek. They ask me only for one city of Louisiana; but I consider already the entire colony as lost, and it seems to me that in the hands of this growing power it will be more useful to the policy, and even to the commerce, of France, than if I attempted to keep it. Give me both of you your opinion."

Barbé-Marbois agreed entirely with Bonaparte, but Admiral Decrès was of a different opinion. The First Consul did not make known his intentions, and dismissed his counselors late at night. The next morning, at day-break, he sent for the minister who had advised him to cede Louisiana and showed him despatches from London announcing great preparations for war on land or on sea.

The English [said Bonaparte] ask of me Lampedusa, which does not belong to me, and at the same time they wish to keep Malta for ten years. That island, where military genius has brought the resources of defense to a perfection that one cannot perceive if one has not seen it, would be for them another Gibraltar. To leave it to them would be to deliver to them the commerce of the Levant, and despoil my southern provinces. They wish to keep that possession, and that I should evacuate Holland. Uncertainties and deliberation are no longer seasonable. I renounce Louisiana. It is not only New Orleans that I wish to cede, it is the whole colony, without reserving anything of it. I know the value of what I abandon, and I have proved sufficiently the importance that I attach to that province, since my first diplomatic act with Spain was for the object of its recovery. I renounce it, therefore, with great regret. To insist upon its preservation would be madness. I direct you to negotiate this affair with envoys of Congress. Do not even wait for the arrival of Mr. Monroe; have an interview this very day with Mr. Livingston. But I have need of a great deal of money for this war, and I should not like to begin it with new contributions. For a hundred years France and Spain have been incurring expenses for improvements in Louisiana, whose trade never has indemnified them. Large sums have been lent to companies, and to agriculturists, and they will never be reimbursed to the treasury. The price of all these things is justly due to us. If I were to

regulate my terms on what these vast territories will be worth to the United States, the indemnities would have no limits. I shall be moderate, in consideration of the necessity to sell in which I am. But remember this well: I want fifty millions, and for less than this amount I shall not treat. I would rather make a desperate attempt to keep these beautiful countries. To-morrow you will have full powers.

Barbé-Marbois says he made a few general observations on the cession of the rights of sovereignty and on the abandonment of what the Germans call *souls*, as if they could be the object of a contract of sale or of exchange. The First Consul answered him:

That is, indeed, in all its perfection the ideology of the right of nature and of nations. But I must have money to make war against the nation that has the most money. Send your doctrine to London; I am sure it will be the subject of great admiration, and yet no great attention is paid to it when it is a question of taking possession of the finest countries in Asia. Perhaps, also, it will be objected that the Americans may be found too powerful for Europe in two or three centuries; but my foresight does not embrace those remote fears. Besides, one may expect in the future rivalries within the Union itself. The confederations that are called perpetual last only as long as one of the contracting parties does not find it to its advantage to break them, and it is the present dangers to which we are exposed by the colossal power of England that I wish to remedy.

Barbé-Marbois did not reply, and the First Consul continued:

Mr. Monroe is on the point of arriving. This minister, going a thousand leagues from his constituents, must have received from

the President, after the latter had defined the object of his mission, secret instructions more extensive than the ostensible authorization of Congress for the payment to be made. Neither that minister nor his colleague expects a resolution that surpasses infinitely what they are going to ask of us. Begin without subterfuge to make the overture to them. You will inform me, day by day, hour by hour, of the progress you make. The cabinet of London is informed of the resolutions taken at Washington, but it cannot suspect the one which I take. Observe the greatest secrecy, and recommend it to the American ministers; they have no less interest in it than you. You will correspond with M. de Talleyrand, who alone knows my intentions. If I took his advice, France would limit its ambition to the left bank of the Rhine and would make war only to protect the weak, and not to be dismembered. But he admits also that the cession of Louisiana is not the dismemberment of France.

On April 10, 1803, Bonaparte had made up his mind to sell Louisiana to the United States, and, in his conversations on the subject with Barbé-Marbois, we see his wonderful judgment of men and of things and his promptness in arriving at a decision and at a fulfilment of his projects. At one glance he could see all sides of a question, just as he could discern all the movements of the enemy on the battle-field; and his extraordinary capacity for action enabled him to accomplish in an incredibly short time the greatest deeds in statesmanship and in war. During his consulate Bonaparte appears to have been infallible in his judgments, except when he ordered the execution of the Duke d'Enghien. If Napoleon, the Emperor, committed mistakes, it was because his wonderful achievements had led him to believe that every-

thing was possible to his genius. He considered that neither nature nor man could be an obstacle to his projects, and he fell finally, overcome both by nature and by man. In 1803 Bonaparte was still First Consul, and in the cession of Louisiana to the United States he displayed keen foresight—we might say prophetic instinct—when he indicated the vast consequences of that act to the American Union.

When we see, in Barbé-Marbois's *History of Louisiana*, that Bonaparte had fully decided upon the cession of the province, it is curious to read Robert R. Livingston's despatches to his government, in which he speaks of his efforts to persuade the First Consul and his ministers to cede New Orleans and the Floridas to the United States. On April 11, 1803, Livingston wrote to Secretary Madison:

M. Talleyrand asked me this day, when pressing the subject, whether we wished to have the whole of Louisiana. I told him, no; that our wishes extended only to New Orleans and the Floridas; that the policy of France should dictate (as I had shown in an official note) to give us the country above the river Arkansas, in order to place a barrier between them and Canada. He said that if they gave New Orleans, the rest would be of little value; and that he would wish to know "what we would give for the whole." I told him it was a subject I had not thought of, but that I supposed we should not object to twenty millions, provided our citizens were paid. He told me that this was too low an offer, and that he would be glad if I would reflect upon it and tell him to-morrow. I told him that, as Mr. Monroe would be in town in two days, I would delay my further offer until I had the pleasure of introducing him. He added that he did not

speak from authority, but that the idea had struck him. I have reason, however, to think that this resolution was taken in council on Saturday.

We notice in this communication of Livingston the usual duplicity of Talleyrand, and the latter's extraordinary statement that, without New Orleans, the rest of the country would be of little value. That rest now comprises several populous, wealthy, and progressive States.

James Monroe arrived in Paris on April 12, 1803, and on April 13 Livingston wrote that on that same day, while Monroe and several other gentlemen were at dinner with him, he observed Barbé-Marbois walking in his (Livingston's) garden. On being invited to join the company, the French minister said he would return when they had dined. He came in while they were taking coffee, and had a free conversation with Livingston in a room next to that in which the company was assembled, and also that same evening at Barbé-Marbois's house. The latter said the First Consul had told him: "Well! you have charge of the treasury; let them give you one hundred millions of francs, and pay their own claims, and take the whole country." Livingston adds very judiciously: "I now plainly saw the whole business: first, the Consul was disposed to sell; next, he distrusted Talleyrand, on account of the business of the supposed intention to bribe, and meant to put the negotiation into the hands of Marbois, whose character for integrity is established." Livingston then told Marbois that the United States would be perfectly satisfied with New Orleans and the Floridas, and that they would be ready to purchase, provided the sum

was reduced to reasonable limits. Barbé-Marbois finally said that "if we would name sixty millions of francs, and take upon us the American claims to the amount of twenty more, he would try how far this would be accepted." Livingston replied that this was far beyond the means of his country, and he and Monroe, after a few days, offered forty millions, including the debts due the Americans, and afterward fifty millions. The French negotiator said, according to Livingston, that such an offer could not be accepted.

Marbois tells us that when Monroe arrived in Paris, Livingston gave him little encouragement for the success of their negotiations, and told his colleague that the best thing to do was to take possession of New Orleans first and to negotiate afterward. It happened, however, that the three negotiators—Livingston, Monroe, and Barbé-Marbois—had known one another in the United States. Livingston, as Chancellor of New York, had administered the oath of office to Washington at his inauguration. He remained in Europe until 1805, and was highly esteemed by Napoleon. Monroe had been governor of Virginia. Barbé-Marbois had occupied a diplomatic post in the United States during the War of the Revolution, and he says that the two American negotiators and he, on seeing one another, remembered that they had been associated in a design conceived for the happiness of men. They labored, therefore, in perfect harmony.

The negotiation had three subjects: first the cession, then the price, and finally the debts due from France to citizens of the United States. With regard to the

cession it was evident that Livingston and Monroe were not authorized to purchase the whole province of Louisiana, but it was impossible to obtain further instructions, as hostilities between France and England were on the point of breaking out, and delay in the negotiations would only have served to make of Louisiana a colony of England. For the same reason it was not possible to consult the inhabitants about their wish in the matter, a fact that was deeply regretted by the three negotiators. It was so clearly to the interest of the United States to acquire the whole province, instead of New Orleans and the Floridas alone, that Livingston and Monroe assumed the responsibility of treating for the whole, and the first article agreed upon was as follows:

Whereas, by article third of the treaty concluded at St. Ildefonso, the 9th Vendémiaire, year 9 (1st October, 1800), between the First Consul of the French Republic and His Catholic Majesty, it was agreed as follows: "His Catholic Majesty promises and engages, on his part, to retrocede to the French Republic, six months after the full and entire execution of the conditions and stipulations herein relative to His Royal Highness the Duke of Parma, the colony or province of Louisiana, with the same extent that it now has in the hands of Spain, and that it had when France possessed it; and such as it should be after the treaties subsequently entered into between Spain and other States,—And, whereas, in pursuance of the treaty, and particularly of the third article, the French Republic has an incontestable title to the domain, and to the possession of the said territory: The First Consul of the French Republic, desiring to give to the United States a strong proof of his friendship, doth hereby cede to the said United States, in the name of the French Republic, forever and in full sovereignty, the said territory, with all its rights and

appurtenances, as fully and in the same manner as they had been acquired by the French Republic in virtue of the above-mentioned treaty concluded with His Catholic Majesty."

The limits of Louisiana, as established by article first of the treaty, were very uncertain with regard to the North and Northwest, and to Florida, and all parties to the negotiation were aware of that fact. When Barbé-Marbois called Bonaparte's attention to it, the Consul exclaimed: "If the obscurity was not there, it would, perhaps, be good policy to put it there."

Article third of the treaty was prepared by Bonaparte himself, and the Louisianians should be grateful to him for providing with so much foresight for their future happiness. The article is as follows:

The inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States, and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Federal Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States; and in the mean time they shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and the religion which they profess.

The First Consul added, says Barbé-Marbois:

Let the Louisianians know that we part from them with regret; that we stipulate in their favor everything that they can desire, and let them hereafter, happy in their independence, recollect that they have been Frenchmen, and that France, in ceding them, has secured for them advantages which they could not have obtained from a European power, however paternal it might have

been. Let them retain for us sentiments of affection; and may their common origin, descent, language, and customs perpetuate the friendship.

Bonaparte said also:

This accession of territory strengthens forever the power of the United States, and I have just given to England a maritime rival that will sooner or later humble her pride.

The treaty of cession was signed in Paris on the 10th Floréal, eleventh year of the French Republic (April 30, 1803).² On the same day two conventions were signed and annexed to the treaty. The first convention referred to the price of the cession. Barbé-Marbois says it had not been included in the treaty because it had been felt embarrassing to express the fact that, at the same time, an abandonment of the sovereign domain was being made and a sale for money of that domain. The First Consul had said that he counted on fifty million francs. Barbé-Marbois, without any further explanation with Bonaparte, told the American ministers that the price stipulated was fixed at eighty millions, and that it would be useless to propose a reduction.³ Livingston and Monroe finally accepted the price proposed by the French minister, on condition that twenty millions should be deducted from the eighty in consideration of the debts due by France to the citizens of the United States, contracted before September 30, 1800. The question of the debts was considered in the second convention annexed to the treaty of April 30, 1803.

The contracting parties would have wished to obtain the concurrence of Spain to the negotiation, as that power by the treaty of St. Ildefonso had reserved the right of preference in case of the cession of the province. But it was thought impossible to wait for the deliberations of the cabinet at Madrid, and the Spanish government refused to approve the treaty. It was only on February 10, 1804, that Don Pedro Cevallos wrote to Mr. Pinckney, the American minister that "the opposition of His Catholic Majesty to the alienation of Louisiana was withdrawn, in spite of the solid reasons on which it was founded, and His Majesty had wished in this circumstance to give a new proof of his good will and kindness for the United States."

The following extracts from a letter of Livingston and Monroe to Madison, dated May 13, 1803, are interesting:

An acquisition of so great an extent was, we well know, not contemplated by our appointment; but we are persuaded that the circumstances and considerations which induced us to make it, will justify us in the measure to our government and country. . . . By this measure we have sought to carry into effect, to the utmost of our power, the wise and benevolent policy of our government, on the principles laid down in our instructions. The possession of the left bank of the river, had it been attainable alone, would, it is true, have accomplished much in that respect; but it is equally true that it would have left much still to accomplish. By it our people would have had an outlet to the ocean, in which no power would have a right to disturb them; but while the other bank remained in the possession of a foreign power, circumstances might occur to make the neighborhood of such power highly in-

jurious to us in many of our most important concerns. A divided jurisdiction over the river might beget jealousies, discontents, and dissensions, which the wisest policy on our part could not prevent or control. With a train of colonial governments established along the western bank, from the entrance of the river far into the interior, under the command of military men, it would be difficult to preserve that state of things which would be necessary to the peace and tranquillity of our country. A single act of a capricious, unfriendly, or unprincipled subaltern might wound our best interests, violate our most unquestionable rights, and involve us in war. But by this acquisition, which comprises within our limits this great river, and all the streams which empty into it, from their sources to the ocean, the apprehension of these disasters is banished for ages from the United States. We adjust by it the only remaining known cause of variance with this very powerful nation; we anticipate the discontent of the great rival of France, who would probably have been wounded at any stipulation of a permanent nature which favored the latter, and which it would have been difficult to avoid, had she retained the right bank. We cease to have a motive of urgency, at least, for inclining to one power, to avert the unjust pressure of another. We separate ourselves in a great measure from the European world and its concerns, especially its wars and intrigues. We make, in fine, a great stride to real and substantial independence, the good effect whereof will, we trust, be felt essentially and extensively in all our foreign and domestic relations. Without exciting the apprehension of any power, we take a more imposing attitude with respect to all. The bond of our union will be strengthened, and its movements become more harmonious by the increased purity of interest which it will communicate to the several parts which compose it.

The considerations expressed by Livingston and Monroe were so eminently wise that on July 29, 1803, Secre-

tary of State Madison wrote to them: "In concurring with the disposition of the French government to treat for the whole of Louisiana, although the western part of it was not embraced by your powers, you were justified by the solid reasons which you give for it; and I am charged by the President to express to you his entire approbation of your so doing."

The original treaty of cession was drawn up in the French language, and afterward translated into English. Barbé-Marbois said that after the three negotiators had signed the treaty they rose and shook hands, and Livingston expressed the satisfaction of all at the completion of their labors. He said this was the finest work of their whole life, and that from this day the United States were numbered with the powers of the first rank, and by them would be reëstablished the maritime rights of all the nations of the earth, now usurped by one only. He added that the treaties they had just signed were preparing centuries of happiness for numberless generations. Only twelve years after the treaty of cession of Louisiana to the United States British invaders were repelled from the soil of Louisiana and a British army totally defeated at the battle of New Orleans.

CHAPTER XI

THE RATIFICATION OF THE TREATY OF CESSION, AND THE TRANSFER TO THE UNITED STATES

Bonaparte ratifies the treaty—Jefferson calls an extra meeting of Congress—Debates in the Senate—Opposition of the Federalists—Boundaries of Louisiana—The transfer to the United States—Laussat's "Memoirs"—Message of Jefferson—Claiborne's proclamation and address—Census of 1803.



ON May 22, 1803, Bonaparte ratified the treaty of cession, without waiting for the ratification of the United States. On the same day hostilities were begun between France and England, but Louisiana could now be considered as being already an American possession, and as such was protected from the British. The latter could ill afford to be on bad terms with the United States at the very moment when war had again broken out between them and France, which was then ruled by the greatest captain of modern times.

The treaty of cession ratified by the First Consul reached Washington on July 14, 1803. The Spanish minister, Yrujo, protested against the cession to the United States, and declared that the act was null, as the French government had bound itself not to retrocede the

province to any other power, and had not obtained, as agreed upon, the recognition of the King of Etruria by all the courts of Europe. It was thought by some that France and Spain were acting in concert, and that Louisiana would not be transferred to the United States. Such a supposition was absurd, and President Jefferson issued a proclamation on July 16, 1803, calling an extraordinary session of Congress for October 17, 1803. In his message of that date he said:

Congress witnessed at their late session the extraordinary agitation produced in the public mind by the suspension of our right of deposit at the port of New Orleans, no assignment of another place having been made according to treaty. They were sensible that the continuance of that privation would be more injurious to our nation than any consequences which could flow from any mode of redress; but, reposing just confidence in the good faith of the government whose officer had committed the wrong, friendly and reasonable representations were resorted to, and the right of deposit was restored. Previous, however, to this period, we had not been unaware of the danger to which our peace would be perpetually exposed whilst so important a key to the commerce of the Western country remained under foreign power. Difficulties, too, were presenting themselves as to the navigation of other streams which, arising within our territories, pass through those adjacent. Propositions had therefore been authorized for obtaining on fair conditions the sovereignty of New Orleans and of other possessions in that quarter interesting to our quiet to such extent as was deemed practicable, and the provisional appropriation of two million dollars to be applied and accounted for by the President of the United States, intended as part of the price, was considered as conveying the sanction of Congress to the acquisition proposed. The enlightened government of France saw with

just discernment the importance to both nations of such liberal arrangements as might best and permanently promote the peace, friendship, and interests of both, and the property and sovereignty of all Louisiana which had been restored to them have on certain conditions been transferred to the United States by instruments bearing date the 30th of April last. When these shall have received the constitutional sanction of the Senate, they will without delay be communicated to the Representatives also for the exercise of their functions as to those conditions which are within the powers vested by the Constitution in Congress. Whilst the property and sovereignty of the Mississippi and its waters secure an independent outlet for the produce of the Western States and an uncontrolled navigation through their whole course, free from collision with other powers and the dangers to our peace from that source, the fertility of the country, its climate and extent, promise in due season important aids to our treasury, an ample provision for our posterity, and a wide spread for the blessings of freedom and equal laws.

On October 22, 1803, Jefferson sent a message to the Senate and House of Representatives, announcing that the conventions entered into for the cession of Louisiana had been ratified, with the advice and consent of the Senate, and were communicated for the consideration of Congress in its legislative capacity. The debates in the Senate on this question were animated. On November 2 Samuel White, of Delaware, spoke of the uncertainty of Spain's allowing the French prefect in New Orleans to deliver the province to the United States; then he spoke of the evils that would ensue if "this new, immense, unbounded world" should ever be incorporated into the Union. The citizens of the United States would leave

their present territory and cross the river and “will be removed to the immense distance of two or three thousand miles from the capital of the Union, where they will scarcely ever feel the rays of the General Government; their affections will become alienated; they will gradually begin to view us as strangers; they will form other commercial connections, and our interests will become distinct.” Mr. White then declared that “fifteen millions of dollars was a most enormous sum to give.”

William Hill Wells, of Delaware, shared the opinion of his colleague, and opposed the bill, which was to authorize the creation of a stock to the amount of eleven million two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. James Jackson, of Georgia, favored the bill, and said that the frontier people would not cross into Louisiana; that the Southern tribes of Indians could be persuaded to go there, and their place would be filled up with settlers from Europe. He concluded his remarks with words that prophesied the defeat of the British at New Orleans in 1815:

We have a bargain now in our power, which, once missed, we never shall have again. Let us close our part of the contract by the passage of this bill; let us leave no opportunity for any Power to charge us with a want of good faith; and having executed our stipulations in good faith we can appeal to God for the justice of our cause; and I trust that, confiding in that justice, there is virtue, patriotism, and courage sufficient in the American nation, not only to take possession of Louisiana, but to keep that possession against the encroachments or attacks of any Power on earth.

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON

1747-1813

(Upper left) Chancellor of New York and Minister to France, who negotiated and signed the Treaty of Transfer of Louisiana from France to the United States in 1803. From a painting by Gilbert Stuart belonging to Mr. Carleton Hunt and sisters,—Louise Livingston Hunt and Julia Barton Hunt,—heirs of the late Mrs. Cora L. Barton (daughter of Edward Livingston), Montgomery Place, Barrytown-on-Hudson, N. Y.

JAMES MONROE

1758-1831

(Upper right) Envoy Extraordinary to France, who negotiated and signed the Treaty of Transfer of Louisiana from France to the United States in 1803. From a painting by Gilbert Stuart owned by his great-granddaughter, Mrs. George B. Goldsborough, Easton, Md.

FRANÇOIS, MARQUIS DE BARBÉ-
MARBOIS

1745-1837

(Centre) Minister of Finance under Bonaparte, who negotiated and signed the Treaty of Transfer of Louisiana from France to the United States in 1803. From a painting by Jean François Boisselat in the Versailles Museum.

DENIS, DUC DECRÈS

1761-1820

(Lower left) Vice-Admiral of France and Minister of Marine and of the Colonies under Bonaparte, who advised against the transfer of Louisiana to the United States. From a painting of the French school (artist unknown) in the Versailles Museum.

CHARLES MAURICE, DUC DE TAL-
LEYRAND-PÉRIGORD, PRINCE DE
BÉNÉVENT

1754-1838

(Lower right) Foreign Minister under Bonaparte and one of the negotiators in the transfer of Louisiana to the United States. From a painting by Baron François Pascal Simon Gérard in the Versailles Museum.



Robert Wright, of Maryland, asked why the President was distrusted, he who had been so "very much alive to the peaceful acquisition of this immense territory, and the invaluable waters of the Mississippi." He added that the Louisianians would not be less disposed to loyalty to the United States than they had been to the prefect of France. "Can they be so unwise as to prefer being the colonists of a distant European power to being members of this immense empire, with all the privileges of American citizens?"

Timothy Pickering, of Massachusetts, discussed the question from a constitutional point of view, and declared that the incorporation of the inhabitants of Louisiana in the Union could not be effected without an amendment of the Constitution. "He believed the assent of each individual State to be necessary for the admission of a foreign country as an associate in the Union: in like manner as, in a commercial house, the consent of each member would be necessary to admit a new partner into the company. He had never doubted the right of the United States to acquire new territory, either by purchase or by conquest, and to govern the territory so acquired as a dependent province; and in this way might Louisiana have become territory of the United States, and have received a form of government infinitely preferable to that to which its inhabitants are now subject."

Jonathan Dayton, of New Jersey, Pierce Butler, of South Carolina, and John Taylor, of Virginia, favored the bill, and the latter argued that it was constitutional. Uriah Tracy, of Connecticut, spoke rather bitterly

against the bill, and said that universal consent of all the States was necessary, "and this I am positive can never be obtained to such a pernicious measure as the admission of Louisiana—of a world, and such a world, into our Union. This would be absorbing the Northern States, and rendering them as insignificant in the Union as they ought to be if, by their own consent, the measure should be adopted."

John Breckenridge, of Kentucky, spoke at great length, and paid a high tribute to Jefferson's administration:

But if my opinion were of any consequence, I should be free to declare that this transaction, from its commencement to its close, not only as to the mode in which it was pursued, but as to the object achieved, is one of the most splendid which the annals of any nation can produce. To acquire an empire of perhaps half the extent of the one we possessed, from the most powerful and warlike nation on earth, without bloodshed, without the oppression of a single individual, without in the least embarrassing the ordinary operations of our finances, and all this through the peaceful forms of negotiation, and in despite, too, of the opposition of a considerable portion of the community, is an achievement of which the archives of the predecessors, at least, of those now in office, cannot furnish a parallel.

Wilson Carey Nicholas, of Virginia, and William Cooke, of Tennessee, spoke in favor of the bill, which was carried by a vote of twenty-six yeas to five nays. In the House of Representatives the debates were very long, and by a vote of ninety yeas to twenty-five nays a resolution was adopted to make provision for carrying into

effect the treaty and conventions concluded at Paris on April 30, 1803.

Jefferson, like some members of Congress, had been somewhat puzzled by the question whether it was constitutional to acquire foreign territory by purchase; but he had approved the action of Livingston and Monroe, and had called a meeting of Congress to consider the treaty of cession and the conventions annexed thereto. The Federalists opposed the measure violently, and tried to show what an immense sum of money fifteen million dollars was. No one, however, knew exactly what Louisiana was, and ridiculous stories were told about the province. The most absurd was the statement that there was a vast mountain of salt, a thousand miles up the Missouri.¹ "The length was one hundred and eighty miles; the breadth was forty-five; not a tree, not so much as a shrub, was on it; but, all glittering white, it rose from the earth, a solid mountain of rock-salt, with streams of saline water flowing from the fissures and cavities at its base!" Fortunately, the magnificent explorations of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark were soon to make known the vast regions of the West as far as the Pacific.

We have seen that Louisiana was ceded to the United States in 1803 with rather obscure boundaries. The Floridas, Oregon, and Texas were claimed as included in the Louisiana Purchase. In 1819 a treaty was signed by which all claim to Texas west of the Sabine River was given up by the United States, and the Floridas were received from Spain. That treaty was the work of John Quincy Adams, who was convinced that the claim to

Texas was just, but who relinquished it for reasons of expediency. Mr. Henry Adams believes also that Texas formed part of Louisiana in 1803, but Professor John R. Ficklen has given proof to the contrary. He says:²

The Floridas and Oregon, which at various times were claimed by the United States as portions of the Louisiana Purchase, have been declared by the sober judgment of history to have formed no part thereof. A similar judgment, it may be predicted, will finally be pronounced in the celebrated case of the Louisiana Purchase *vs.* Texas.

Jefferson had appointed General James Wilkinson and William C. C. Claiborne, Governor of the Mississippi Territory, commissioners to receive Louisiana from Laussat, the French commissioner. Claiborne had also been appointed governor of the new American territory. As it was feared that Spain might attempt to prevent the transfer of the province to the United States, part of the militia of Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee received orders to hold themselves ready to march at a moment's notice.³ The military force in the West assembled at Fort Adams, and five hundred militiamen of Tennessee came as far as Natchez. Claiborne ordered the volunteer company of horse of the Mississippi Territory to prepare to accompany him on December 10. Wilkinson and Claiborne met at Fort Adams, and on December 17 they camped within two miles of New Orleans, with their troops. On December 31, 1803, the former Spanish intendant, Morales, wrote to Minister Cayetano, as follows:⁴

Only twenty days did the capital remain in the power of the French Republic. On the sixteenth General Wilkinson arrived with three hundred men, and camped in the vicinity of the city. On the seventeenth, Governor Claiborne arrived with the remainder of the troops, which with the militia (cavalry and infantry of Natchez) amounted to six hundred men. On December 20 the transfer took place with the same ceremonies as on November 30. The Americans manifested their joy when the banners were raised and pulled down. In the *sala consistorial* Governor Claiborne delivered an address, and he published a proclamation. The Americans, on the days following the transfer, showed distrust of the Spaniards. At present they appear satisfied with the courtesies shown them.

Narrative of Laussat, dated "an XII, 3 Nivôse":⁵

The American commissioners, Claiborne, Governor of the Territory of Mississippi, and Wilkinson, brigadier-general in the army of the United States, were together on the 25th Frimaire at Marigny Point, on the bank of the river, where General Wilkinson had placed his camp. Messrs. Claiborne and Wilkinson sent Major Wadsworth to me to ask whether I could receive them on Sunday at noon. I answered affirmatively, and sent the Major of Engineers Vinache, the Colonel commanding the militia Bellechasse, and the French citizen Blanque, my friend, to meet them in my carriage.

They arrived in the yard with an escort on horseback of about thirty volunteers from Natchez, and they were saluted on their approach by a volley of nineteen guns. After a few minutes given to etiquette in my parlor, they passed into my cabinet. We had there a conference of an hour. They manifested a desire to delay the taking possession until Tuesday, to have time for preparations.

It was sufficient for me to announce, after their departure, that the next day, at eleven o'clock in the morning, I would return

their visit on horseback in their camp, to have at half-past ten (without any further attention on my part) a military cavalcade in my yard of about sixty men to serve as an escort. That will make known to the government the feelings of the Louisianians and the mettle of their character.

On Tuesday I had all the militia drawn up in battle array on the square in front of the City Hall. The crowd was immense, and the most beautiful weather favored that ceremony. The commissioners of the United States arrived at the head of their troops and were saluted outside the gates by the company of grenadiers of the militia. The troops of the United States were placed in line of battle on the square, opposite those we had there, and their entrance into the city was announced by volleys of twenty-one guns fired from the forts.

Having gone to the large hall of the City Hall, the commissioners of the United States, Claiborne and Wilkinson, handed me their powers in public meeting, and these were read. I caused then to be read the treaty of cession, my own powers, and the procès-verbal of the exchange of ratifications. I proclaimed the delivery of the country to the United States; I added to it that of the keys of the city to Mr. Claiborne; and I declared absolved from the oath of fidelity to the French Republic any inhabitant of the country who preferred to remain under the new domination.

We went to one of the balconies of the City Hall. Then the French flag was seen to descend from the top of the staff in the middle of the square, and the American flag was seen to rise. When they met at the same height, one cannon was fired as a signal, and immediately began the volleys from the land batteries and from the harbor.

The commissioners of the United States came with me to the militia, the command of which I delivered to them, and they caused our posts to be relieved immediately by their troops. I had been constantly accompanied during these ceremonies by a great number of Frenchmen and Louisianians, members of the municipality, militia, and others.

Judge Martin says that when the flag of the United States rose to the top of the staff in the square, and the flag of France was lowered, "a group of citizens of the United States, who stood on a corner of the square, waved their hats, in token of respect for their country's flag, and a few of them greeted it with their voices. The colonists did not appear conscious that they were reaching the *Latium sedes ubi fata quietas ostendunt*."

Barbé-Marbois says that fifty former French soldiers had constituted themselves the guardians of the tri-colored banner, and that when it was lowered from the staff they received it in their arms. They manifested their regrets, the sergeant-major wrapped the banner around his body, and a parade took place around the city. The little troop was saluted with military honors by the American soldiers, and went to the French commissioner's house, accompanied by the officers of the militia, who were all French by birth or by descent. They addressed Laussat as follows: "We have wished to give France a last proof of the affection we shall always maintain for her. In your hands we deposit this symbol of the bond that had attached us again to her temporarily." The commissioner answered, "May the prosperity of Louisiana be eternal!"

In a letter to his government Laussat said: ⁶

I have only to congratulate myself on the events during the twenty days that the French Republic has commanded in these countries. It seems to me also that the inhabitants have not found too long the duration of her domination.

A little later he said:

The United States surely do not pay dear for this interesting and magnificent country. They do not even pay half of what New Orleans alone will be worth to them, and by their tariff they will derive from its custom-house one million dollars (five million francs) before four years.

An exceedingly rare book has lately been discovered at Pau; it is the "Memoirs" of Laussat, in which he relates in detail the events that took place during his stay in Louisiana. We shall give here his narrative of the incidents relating to the transfers from Spain to France and from France to the United States.⁷

At a quarter to twelve, on November 30, 1803, I went on foot to the City Hall, escorted by about sixty Frenchmen. The brig *Argo* saluted us as we passed. There was a considerable crowd on the square. The Spanish troops were on one side, and the militia on the other. The drums were beat when I passed by the guard-house. The commissioners of His Catholic Majesty advanced to meet me to the centre of the hall. M. de Salcedo sat in the middle in an arm-chair, I on another at his right, and the Marquis de Casa Calvo on a third to the left. I presented my credentials and the order of the King of Spain. The Secretary, Don Andres Lopez de Armesto, was ordered to read the credentials of the commissioners of his nation, and Daugerot, marine clerk, under my orders, read my own credentials. The Marquis de Casa Calvo declared in a loud voice that the subjects who should not choose the Spanish domination were by right from this moment freed from their oath of fidelity. The governor handed to me, at the same time, in a silver dish, the keys of the forts St. Charles and St. Louis. He left his seat, and I took it.

In all other accounts of the transfer it is said that the keys of the *city* were presented to Laussat. The latter says expressly that the Spanish governor, Salcedo, presented to him the keys of the *forts*.

After receiving the keys and signing the procès-verbal of the transfer, the three commissioners went to the balcony of the City Hall and witnessed the lowering in the square of the Spanish flag and the raising of the French flag. The Spanish commissioners then left the City Hall, and Laussat accompanied them to the top of the staircase. His secretaries and officers on his staff accompanied them down the stairs, where the Spanish officers had received the French commissioner.

Laussat went then to the square, and, standing in front of the militia, he presented Bellechasse to them as their commander, and said: "I confide to you, in the name of the French Republic, these banners: you will defend them, you will honor them; they rise in your midst for the good of your country; they are here as on their native soil: French blood flows in the veins of most of you."

During these ceremonies cannon were thundering on all sides. When the Spanish flag was lowered from Fort St. Charles it was saluted with twenty-one guns by the fort and twenty-one by an eight-pounder that had been posted expressly in front of the prefect's house. When the French flag was raised above the fort it was saluted with twenty-one guns from the fort, twenty-one from the French brig, and twenty-one from the battery at the prefect's house.

On December 1, 1803, Laussat received visits from

Governor Salcedo, the Marquis de Casa Calvo, Intendant Morales, the clergy, and the principal military officers. After a quarter of an hour, he went in his turn to the governor's house, found there the persons who had called on him, and resolved to give a great festival in honor of the French flag.

He invited to dinner seventy-five persons—Spaniards, Americans, and Frenchmen. There was card-playing for heavy stakes, and during the dinner three toasts were drunk: the first, with white champagne, to the French Republic and to Bonaparte; the second, with rose-colored champagne, to Charles IV and to Spain; the third, with white champagne, to the United States and to President Jefferson. Three salutes of twenty-one guns corresponded to the toasts. It was then night, and a last and noisy toast was drunk to the ladies.

The weather, which had been unsettled on November 30, was fine again, and a north wind, the coldest of the winter, had dried the ground. The wind, blowing with great force, somewhat disarranged the illuminations. Nevertheless, big fire-pots gave a brilliant light in front of the prefect's house. The doors had been removed, and a hundred women, elegantly dressed, and a hundred and fifty to two hundred men were in the rooms. There was one English contra-dance to three French dances. The Marquis de Casa Calvo opened the ball by a minuet with Mme. Almonester; there were also character dances and waltzes. Mme. Livaudais and Mme. Boré, who had given up dancing, took pleasure in it again on this occasion. Supper was served at three o'clock, and at seven

the *danse des bateaux* and the *galopade* were still to be danced. At eight o'clock in the morning the last persons left the house.

Laussat says that Casa Calvo spoke to him of the limits of the province, and that he answered that he would transmit the country, according to the terms of the treaty, without considering at all the application of these terms, which Spain would define with the United States.

Laussat told the members of the new municipal council that it would have been much easier for him to make use of the existing establishments in the transfer of the colony, but he had wished to render a great service to the Louisianians and to give them a signal proof of attachment and interest, by taking advantage of "that flash of power and of reign to deliver to them in some sort the fortresses, and to introduce into them the élite of the Louisianians."

On December 8 Casa Calvo gave a ball in honor of Laussat, and on December 16 Laussat returned the compliment. Unfortunately a fire broke out at a short distance, and a panic ensued, caused by the remembrance of the disastrous conflagrations of 1788 and 1794. At ten o'clock the fire was extinguished, and Laussat and Casa Calvo returned to the ball, which was most brilliant. For twelve hours there were boleros, gavottes, French and English contra-dances, and high playing. The rooms were illuminated with twenty "quinquets" and two hundred and twenty wax candles, and for supper there were seats at the large table for sixty persons, for twenty-four at the small table, and for one hundred and forty-six at

thirty-two round tables, while hundreds of persons ate standing. Different kinds of gumbo were served; among others, with sea turtles. During the night there was an abundant buffet, with tea, coffee, chocolate, consommé, and bavareses. The officers of the Spanish corvette *Desempeño* delayed their departure, attended the ball, and stayed at Laussat's house until half-past nine in the morning.

The French commissioner heard at his ball that the American commissioners, Claiborne and Wilkinson, had landed with their troops at the Mather plantation, and Colonel Watson, temporary secretary, asked him when he would like to receive them. Laussat indicated December 19, between twelve and two o'clock. Twenty-four dragoons preceded Claiborne and Wilkinson, and they were received with a salute of nineteen guns. Claiborne was tall and had an American complexion and bearing. He appeared gentle, and conversed well. Both he and Wilkinson wore scarfs. The next day Laussat called on the American commissioners in their camp. In his despatches he relates this visit in detail.⁸

The day that was to be the first of a new era for the banks of the Mississippi came at last. On December 20, at half-past ten o'clock, many officials and persons of all classes and professions met at Laussat's house and accompanied him to the City Hall, whither he went on foot. The day was beautiful, and as mild as in the month of May. Pretty women and well-dressed men adorned all the balconies around the square, and at none of the preceding ceremonies had there been so many spectators.

The eleven balconies of the City Hall were full of beautiful women. The American troops appeared, and with drums beating marched by platoons and placed themselves on the river side of the square. Facing them, on the other side, were the militia.

The commissioners, Messrs. Claiborne and Wilkinson, were received at the foot of the stairs by Vinache, major of engineers, Livaudais, major of militia, and by Secretary Dagerot. I advanced toward them to the middle of the meeting-hall. Claiborne sat in an arm-chair at my right, and Wilkinson in another at my left. I announced the object of the ceremony. The commissioners presented to me their credentials, and their secretary read them in a loud voice. I ordered to be read afterward: (1) the treaty of cession; (2) my credentials; (3) the exchange of ratifications. I then declared that I delivered the country to the United States, repeating sacramentally the terms in which my powers were expressed. I handed the keys of the city, adorned with tricolored ribbons, to Mr. Wilkinson, and immediately I released from their oath of allegiance to France such inhabitants as wished to remain under the domination of the United States.

After the reading of the *procès-verbal*, in French by Dagerot and in English by Wadsworth, it was signed by the commissioners and by their secretaries. Claiborne, Wilkinson, and Laussat went to the principal balcony of the City Hall, and the French flag was hoisted. Captain Charpin, with his company of French citizens, had guarded the French flag since morning. Their sergeant-major, Legrand, received the flag from Naval Ensign Dusseuil, who had lowered it. Legrand wrapped it around his body, and with drawn sword, escorted by two

officers of the company, went back to his place in the center of the company. Laussat left the City Hall, and, standing before the militia, addressed them as follows:

Militiamen, you have given proofs of devotion and zeal for the French flag in the short time it has floated over these regions. The French Republic shall be informed of it. I present to you my thanks in the name of its government. You pass at this moment under the domination of the United States, which has become your sovereign. I deliver the command over you to its commissioners. Obey them as its representatives.

Laussat went then to the flag, and with drums beating marched with Captain Charpin's company. He says he will never forget this touching and august scene. Fifty French citizens, twenty-five hundred leagues from their country, rallied voluntarily to do homage to its flag,—“that flag, carried to these regions for a long domination; that flag, which, for twelve years, has not ceased to march forward and to spread afar the glory of France, retrograding voluntarily to-day, and falling back in the direction of Europe.”

Captain Charpin's company was composed of men who had served in the French army from the beginning of the Revolution. Their soldierly appearance and calm demeanor produced a great impression among the spectators, and tears were shed when the French flag disappeared from the shores of Louisiana. The American troops presented arms as Laussat and his soldiers passed by, and the flags and the officers saluted.

In the evening of December 20 Laussat gave a dinner

and a ball. The officers of the militia wore the tricolored cockade, and they said to the French commissioner: "We present ourselves to you, decorated with it. It will be forever dear to us, as will also the remembrance of your short stay in these regions." There were tears in their eyes, and Laussat was so much moved that he was able to say only a few words, and ran into his office. At the ball and at the dinner there were Spaniards, Frenchmen, and Americans, and, Laussat adds, "American women whose charms we had not yet celebrated." Supper was served at one o'clock, and the entertainment was animated and brilliant.

Many marks of interest and regret were shown Laussat, and in concluding his narrative of the events of December 20, 1803, the French commissioner says very feelingly:

When I reflect on what I wished and on what I did during my reign of twenty days, I am not dissatisfied. I shall leave these shores without fearing the remembrances of me that will remain here. I have described in detail all the circumstances that accompanied successively this double revolution, whence were to arise such marvelous changes in the destinies of a people of French origin and of a vast country explored and made known to the world by France.

The American commissioners questioned Laussat about the limits. "They are," says the latter, "in a great error, which exists voluntarily or in good faith at Washington, from which place it has been communicated to them." They even claimed Mobile, but the French commissioner

disabused them, while declaring that he had no instructions on that point.

A beautiful ball was offered to Laussat's wife by the City Council. Four commissioners—Mayor Boré and Councilmen Michel Fortier, Faurie, and Derbigny—did the honors. In the midst of the supper, a turtle-dove, perched on a branch of roses, alighted before Mme. de Laussat, and in a note in the bird's beak were the following verses, which we give in French to show what was municipal poetry in 1803:

POTRAIT DE MADAME DE LAUSSAT.

On voit réunis en elle
Les vertus et les attraits ;
On voit le portrait fidèle
De son âme dans ses traits.
Affable, sensible et bonne,
Vertueuse sans fierté,
Et belle sans vanité :
Tout est charme en sa personne.

A curious incident happened at the ordinary public ball on Sunday, January 8, 1804. Two quadrilles were formed at the same time, one French and the other English. An American threatened a musician with his cane, and a great tumult arose. Claiborne did not interfere at first, but Clark induced him to make use of his authority. Not being able to speak French, he was embarrassed and weak, and used persuasion rather than force with the American, who was an ordinary army surgeon. The French quadrille began again, but the American inter-

rupted it with an English quadrille. Some one then exclaimed: "If the women have a single drop of French blood in their veins, they will not dance." All the women immediately left the room. The Marquis de Casa Calvo was playing cards and laughing in his sleeve. He ordered gumbo to be served to two or three women who had taken refuge by him, and then he derisively continued his game.

Laussat told Claiborne that in the incident at the ball he had an intimation of the sentiments of the people of Louisiana, and advised him to see that these sentiments were not displayed in grave matters. Claiborne answered, "The Louisianians loved France very much. I have proofs of this every day." Laussat adds that it would require a very able American statesman to erase, by the gentleness of the new government, this tender predilection.

On Sunday, January 22, 1804, there were again troublesome times at the public ball, and this incident gives a good idea of the customs and sentiments at the time of the transfer of Louisiana to the United States. We follow Laussat's narrative.

On January 11, there appeared in the "Telegraph" a letter signed "Philadelphian," which denied the assertion that, at the moment when the French flag was lowered, with the exception of a little applause from a group of Americans, there were tears and sadness. The company of French citizens was insulted. The printer was called upon to say who was the author of the letter. He declared that it had been brought by Relf, of the firm of Chew and Relf, which was said to be Clark's firm.

Relf denied that he was the author, and the company of citizens published a reply in the next number of the "Telegraph." Clark was the concealed author of the letter, and Laussat speaks harshly of him.

When the ball of January 22 began, the people were excited. The municipal authorities had ordered that there should be two turns of French quadrille, one turn of English quadrille, in companies of twelve dancers, and one turn of waltz. This order was followed, although, in the English quadrille, fourteen or fifteen dancers had slipped in. Another set, which had only twelve dancers, among whom was General Wilkinson, had hardly finished its turn when some complaints were made. One of the municipal commissioners, charged with the management of the ball, cried: "French quadrille!" It began, and all at once murmurs and complaints arose. General Wilkinson was seen conducting with a friendly air toward the police a French citizen named Gauthier. The rumor spread that this young man was arrested. Wilkinson mounted on a bench and mingled a few words of bad French with English sentences. Claiborne stood on the same bench by the side of the general, and pointed with his finger at Mr. Lebalch, health officer, who had just arrived from Santo Domingo. Wilkinson having asked: "What do they want?" Lebalch had answered: "The execution of the regulations posted." Thereupon Wilkinson had endeavored to arrest Lebalch. St. Avid took his part, as well as Teilh, and they were both beaten and bruised. General Wilkinson began to sing: "Hail Columbia!" accompanied by the music of his staff, then

"God save the King!" and the Americans uttered loud hurrahs. The French, on their side, sang "Enfants de la Patrie," then "Peuple Français, peuple de frères," and cried "Vive la République!" The noise was dreadful for some time, but finally Wilkinson and Claiborne withdrew, and quiet was restored. The next day the sensible Americans invited the Frenchmen to a "banquet of reconciliation," and the latter, after some hesitation, accepted. Thus was ended that curious ball-room war.

In March, 1804, Laussat began to prepare for his departure. He called on all the persons who had been kind to him, and went to Boré's plantation to dine with him. His visit to Casa Calvo was conducted with minute Spanish etiquette, as well as the latter's return of the visit. Laussat called also on Wilkinson and Claiborne, and spoke to them as follows:

After being intrusted with a public duty by my nation in a matter concerning your nation, in such a memorable circumstance, I come to-day, in the name of the French people, to salute the American people in the person of its commissioners. I shall congratulate myself on having taken part in this event, because, without doubt, Louisiana, dear to France, will find its happiness in it, and our respective nations new reason to love each other. It is pleasing for me to think that such sentiments are in the hearts, not only of the present members of the government of the United States, but also in the heart of every American citizen.

Wilkinson and Claiborne answered very graciously, and half an hour later returned in great pomp the French commissioner's visit. Laussat ends his narrative of these

interesting events with the following flattering words about Louisiana: "Let us leave this country; it grieves me too much to have known it and to part from it."

Before leaving the province,⁹ Laussat gave a curious and interesting testimonial of his satisfaction to the Louisianians who had most displayed their love for the country of their ancestors. Knowing that they were all ardent hunters, and that they had always sought in preference French powder, the commissioner thought he could not make a better use of a small quantity of powder left than to distribute it among the following persons, who were the most eminent in Louisiana: "To Messieurs: Boré, mayor of the city, forty-five pounds; Bellechasse, colonel of militia, forty-five pounds; Destréhan, first *adjoint*, member municipal council, thirty pounds; Livaudais, major of militia, thirty pounds; Sauvé, second *adjoint*, thirty pounds; Robin de Logny, *propriétaire*, thirty pounds; Livaudais *père*, member of the municipal council, thirty pounds; Boisdoré, aide major, captain *en second* of the militia, thirty pounds; Fortier, member of the municipal council and captain of the artillery company, thirty pounds; Rillieux, captain of militia, thirty pounds; Villeré, member of the municipal council, thirty pounds; Petit, member of the municipal council, thirty pounds; Faurie, member of the municipal council, thirty pounds; Allard *fils*, member of the municipal council, thirty pounds; Ducourneau, thirty pounds; Haseur (three brothers), sixty pounds; Boisblanc, thirty pounds; Lanthois, thirty pounds; Sibeur, thirty pounds; Labatut, treasurer of the city, thirty

pounds; Bernard Marigny, thirty pounds; Charpin, captain of the company of French citizens, forty-five pounds; Bougaud, captain of French volunteers, thirty pounds. The total was seven hundred and sixty-five pounds.

On April 21, 1804, the French colonial prefect and commissioner left Louisiana for Martinique, where he served his government as colonial prefect. The colonial archives in Paris contain a letter written by Laussat from Martinique, in which he expresses his gratitude for the marks of satisfaction of His Imperial Majesty, transmitted by the minister, with the manner in which he had fulfilled his mission to Louisiana. Bonaparte, the First Consul, had become "His Imperial Majesty," and in Laussat's letter we see no longer the republican and familiar "Citizen Minister," but the ceremonious "Monseigneur" and "His Excellency Vice-Admiral Decrès, Minister of Marine and of the Colonies." We cannot blame Laussat for this change in his letters when we consider that kings and emperors were soon to bend the knee before the wonderful soldier of fortune who had placed on his head the crown of Charlemagne. The island of Martinique was attacked by the English on February 3, 1809, and was surrendered on April 24. Laussat was taken prisoner, and was exchanged, on December 23, 1809, for Alexander Cockburn, consul-general at Hamburg. He arrived in Paris on January 4, 1810. He was appointed maritime prefect at Antwerp and remained there two years. He went then, as prefect of the department of Jemmapes, to Mons, which he left on February 4, 1814, when the Allies invaded Belgium. His

son, who was an officer in the French army, was wounded in Champagne and received the cross of the Legion of Honor. During the Hundred Days, Laussat was named baron and prefect of the department of Pas-de-Calais, but, as he was in the Pyrenees, he did not have time to go to the Pas-de-Calais before the fall of Napoleon. He was elected a member of the House of Representatives, but never took his seat in that body. His son served valiantly at Waterloo.

During the Restoration, in 1819, Laussat was appointed by Louis XVIII commandant and administrator of French Guiana. He stayed there until 1823. In 1819 he received the cross of St. Louis, and in 1821, on the occasion of the baptism of the Duke of Bordeaux, his title of baron, given him by Napoleon, was renewed. On January 1, 1825, he was placed on the retired list, with a pension of thirty-six hundred and seventy francs. His faithful secretary, Daugerot, died of yellow fever at Martinique. Laussat, the colonial prefect of Louisiana, like Victor, the captain-general, was a man of merit and of honor.

The preface to the *Memoirs* is dated Bernadets, near Pau, August 1, 1831. The book not only is interesting as a historical work, but is well written.

The following documents, referring to the transfer of Louisiana, are highly important and interesting:

January 16, 1804.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States: In execution of the act of the present session of Congress for taking possession of Louisiana, as ceded to us by France, and

for the temporary government thereof, Governor Claiborne, of the Mississippi Territory, and General Wilkinson, were appointed commissioners to receive possession. They proceeded, with such regular troops as had been assembled at Fort Adams from the nearest posts, and with some militia of the Mississippi Territory, to New Orleans. To be prepared for anything unexpected which might arise out of the transaction, a respectable body of militia was ordered to be in readiness in the States of Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, and a part of those of Tennessee was moved on to the Natchez. No occasion, however, arose for their services. Our commissioners, on their arrival at New Orleans, found the province already delivered by the commissioners of Spain to that of France, who delivered it to them on the 20th of December, as appears by their declaratory act accompanying this. Governor Claiborne, being duly invested with the powers heretofore exercised by the Governor and Intendant of Louisiana, assumed the government on the same day, and, for the maintenance of law and order, immediately issued the proclamation and address now communicated.

On this important acquisition, so favorable to the immediate interests of our Western citizens, so auspicious to the peace and security of the nation in general, which adds to our country territories so extensive and fertile, and to our citizens new brethren to partake of the blessings of freedom and self-government, I offer to Congress and our country my sincere congratulations.

TH: JEFFERSON.

CITY OF NEW ORLEANS, December 20, 1803.

SIR: We have the satisfaction to announce to you, that the province of Louisiana was this day surrendered to the United States by the commissioner of France, and to add that the flag of our country was raised in this city amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants. The inclosed is a copy of an instrument of writing, which was signed and exchanged by the commissioners of the

two governments, and is designed as a record of this interesting transaction.

Accept assurances of our respectful consideration.

WILLIAM C. C. CLAIBORNE.

JAMES WILKINSON.

The Hon. JAMES MADISON, Secretary of State,
City of Washington.

The undersigned, William C. C. Claiborne and James Wilkinson, commissioners or agents of the United States, agreeable to the full powers they have received from Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States, under date of the thirty-first of October eighteen hundred and three, and the twenty-eighth year of the Independence of the United States of America (Eighth Brumaire, twelfth year, of the French Republic) countersigned by the Secretary of State James Madison, and Citizen Peter Clement Laussat, colonial prefect and commissioner of the French Government for the delivery, in the name of the French Republic, of the country, territories, and dependencies of Louisiana to the commissioners or agents of the United States, conformably to the powers, commission, and special mandate which he has received in the name of the French people from Citizen Bonaparte, First Consul, under date of the sixth of June eighteen hundred and three (Seventeenth Prairial, eleventh year of the French Republic), countersigned by the Secretary of State Hugues Maret and by his Excellency the minister of marine and colonies
Decrès:—

Do certify by these presents that on this day, Tuesday the twentieth December eighteen hundred and three of the Christian era (Twenty-eighth Frimaire, twelfth year of the French Republic), being convened in the Hall of the Hôtel de Ville of New Orleans, accompanied on both sides by the chiefs and officers of the army and navy, by the municipality and divers respectable citizens of their respective Republics, the said William C. C. Claiborne and James Wilkinson delivered to the said Citizen

Laussat their aforesaid full powers by which it evidently appears that full power and authority has been given them jointly and severally to take possession of and to occupy the territories ceded by France to the United States by the treaty concluded at Paris on the thirtieth day of April last past (Tenth Floréal), and for that purpose to repair to the said Territory and there to execute and perform all such acts and things touching the premises as may be necessary for fulfilling their appointments, conformably to the said treaty and the laws of the United States.

And therefore the said Citizen Laussat declared that in virtue of and in the terms of the powers, commission, and special mandate dated at St. Cloud the sixth of June eighteen hundred and three of the Christian era (Seventeenth Prairial eleventh year of the French Republic) he put from that moment the said commissioners of the United States in possession of the country, territories, and dependencies of Louisiana, conformably to the first, second, fourth, and fifth articles of the treaty and the two conventions concluded and signed the thirtieth of April eighteen hundred and three (Tenth Floréal, eleventh year of the French Republic) between the French Republic and the United States of America, by Citizen François Barbé-Marbois, Minister of the Public Treasury, and Messieurs Robert R. Livingston and James Monroe, Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States, all three furnished with full powers, of which treaty and two conventions the ratifications made by the First Consul of the French Republic on the one part and the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, on the other part, have been exchanged and mutually received at the city of Washington, the twenty-first of October eighteen hundred and three (the twenty-eighth Vendémiaire, twelfth year of the French Republic) by Citizen Louis André Pichon, *chargé d'affaires* of the French Republic near the United States on the part of France, and by James Madison, Secretary of State of the United States, according to the *procès-verbal* drawn up on the same day.

And the present delivery of the country is made to them to the end that, in conformity with the object of the said treaty, the

sovereignty and property of the colony or province of Louisiana may pass to the said United States under the same clauses and conditions as it had been ceded by Spain to France in virtue of the treaty concluded at St. Ildefonso on the first of October eighteen hundred (ninth Vendémiaire, ninth year of the French Republic) between these two last powers, which has since received its execution by the French Republic into possession of the said colony or province.

And the said Citizen Laussat has in consequence at this present time delivered to the said commissioners of the United States in this public sitting the keys of the city of New Orleans, declaring that he discharges from their oaths of fidelity towards the French Republic the citizens and inhabitants of Louisiana who shall choose to remain under the dominion of the United States.

And that it may forever appear, the undersigned have signed this *procès-verbal* of this important and solemn act in the French and English languages, and have sealed it with their seals, and have caused it to be countersigned by their secretaries of commission, the day, month, and year above written.

WILLIAM C. C. CLAIBORNE.

LAUSSAT.

JAS. WILKINSON.

Le Secrétaire de la commission du Gouvt. français
Par le Préfet Colonial Commission,
DAUGEROT.

By order of the Commissioners
on the part of the United
States,

D. WADSWORTH, Secretary of
the American Commission.

PROCLAMATION.

By His Excellency William C. C. Claiborne, Governor of the Mississippi Territory, exercising the powers of Governor-General and Intendant of the province of Louisiana.

Whereas, By stipulations between the Governments of France and Spain, the latter ceded to the former the colony and province

of Louisiana, with the same extent which it had at the date of the above-mentioned treaty in the hands of Spain, and that it had when France possessed it, and such as it ought to be after the treaties subsequently entered into between Spain and other States; and whereas the Government of France has ceded the same to the United States by a treaty duly ratified and bearing date the 30th of April, in the present year, and the possession of said colony and province is now in the United States, according to the tenor of the last-mentioned treaty; and whereas the Congress of the United States, on the 31st day of October, in the present year, did enact that until the expiration of the session of Congress then sitting (unless provisions for the temporary government of the said Territories be sooner made by Congress), all the military, civil, and judicial powers, exercised by the then existing government of the same shall be vested in such person or persons, and shall be exercised in such manner, as the President of the United States shall direct, for the maintaining and protecting the inhabitants of Louisiana in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion; and the President of the United States has by his commission, bearing date the same 31st day of October, invested me with all the powers, and charged me with the several duties heretofore held and exercised by the Governor-General and Intendant of the province.

I have, therefore, thought fit to issue this my proclamation, making known the premises, and to declare that the Government heretofore exercised over the said province of Louisiana, as well under the authority of Spain as of the French Republic, has ceased, and that of the United States of America is established over the same; that the inhabitants thereof will be incorporated in the union of the United States; that, in the mean time, they shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and the religion which they profess; that all laws and municipal regulations which were in existence at the cessation of the late Government remain in full force; and all civil officers charged with their execution, except those whose powers

have been especially vested in me, and except also such officers as have been intrusted with the collection of the revenue, are continued in their functions, during the pleasure of the Governor for the time being, or until provision shall otherwise be made.

And I do hereby exhort and enjoin all the inhabitants, and other persons within the said province, to be faithful and true in their allegiance to the United States, and obedient to the laws and authorities of the same, under full assurance that their just rights will be under the guardianship of the United States, and will be maintained from all force or violence from without or within.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand. Given at the city of New Orleans the 20th day of December, 1803, and of the independence of the United States of America the 28th.

WM. C. C. CLAIBORNE.

THE GOVERNOR'S ADDRESS TO THE CITIZENS OF LOUISIANA.

NEW ORLEANS, December 20, 1803.

FELLOW-CITIZENS OF LOUISIANA: On the great and interesting event now finally consummated—an event so advantageous to yourselves, and so glorious to united America—I cannot forbear offering you my warmest congratulations. The wise policy of the Consul of France has, by the cession of Louisiana to the United States, secured to you a connection beyond the reach of change, and to your posterity the sure inheritance of freedom. The American people receive you as brothers; and will hasten to extend to you a participation in those inestimable rights which have formed the basis of their own unexampled prosperity. Under the auspices of the American Government, you may confidently rely upon the security of your liberty, your property, and the religion of your choice. You may with equal certainty rest assured that your commerce will be promoted and your agriculture cherished; in a word, that your true interests will be among the primary objects of our national Legislature. In return for these

benefits, the United States will be amply remunerated, if your growing attachment to the constitution of our country, and your veneration for the principles on which it is founded, be duly proportioned to the blessings which they will confer. Among your first duties, therefore, you should cultivate with assiduity among yourselves the advancement of political information; you should guide the rising generation in the paths of republican economy and virtue; you should encourage literature; for without the advantages of education, your descendants will be unable to appreciate the intrinsic worth of the Government transmitted to them.

As for myself, fellow-citizens, accept a sincere assurance, that, during my continuance in the situation in which the President of the United States has been pleased to place me, every exertion will be made on my part to foster your internal happiness, and forward your general welfare; for it is only by such means that I can secure to myself the approbation of those great and just men who preside in the councils of our nation.

WILLIAM C. C. CLAIBORNE.

Judge Martin gives the following census made in 1803 by the consul of the United States at New Orleans, from the best documents he could procure: "In the city of New Orleans, 8056; from the Balize to the city, 2388; at Terre-aux-Bœufs, 661; Bayou St. John and Gentilly, 489; Barataria, 101; Tchoupitoulas, 7444; parish of St. Charles, 2421; parish of St. John the Baptist, 1950; parish of St. James, 2200; Lafourche, 1094; Lafourche, Interior, 2064; Valenzuela, 1057; Iberville, 1300; Galveztown, 247; Baton Rouge, 1513; Pointe Coupée, 2150; Attakapas, 1447; Opelousas, 2454; Washita, 361; Avoyelles, 432; Rapides, 753; Natchitoches, 1631; Arkansas, 368; Illinois, St. Louis, etc., 6028; Mobile, 810; Pensa-

cola, 404; total, 49,473." This census did not include the Indians, and was not thoroughly reliable. The number of Indians in the whole province was still considerable. In what is now the State of Louisiana the tribes existing in 1803, but greatly reduced in number, according to Martin, were as follows: The Oumas, the Tunicas, the Chilimackas, the Chetimachas, the Attakapas, the Choctaws, the Biloxis, the Pascagoulas, the Alibamons, the Cunhates, the Cadodaquious or Cados, the Arkansas, and wandering parties of Creeks. The Choctaws were by far the most numerous tribe.

Robin, who was present at the ceremonies attending the transfer of Louisiana to the United States, expresses eloquently what he felt when he heard Laussat absolving all who desired it from their allegiance to France.¹⁰ He asks how it was possible that a man's own native land might ever cease to be his fatherland, that he might become an enemy to his country and no longer think of it. This remark of Robin's indicates what must have been the feelings of the Louisianians when they saw themselves tossed about from one country to another, becoming Spaniards, Frenchmen, Americans, without being consulted, without any regard for the most sacred feelings of mankind. They were required three times to tear from their hearts their love for their country, and yet they were always found loyal to their oath of allegiance. Whether under the French, the Spanish, or the American domination, they were always in the front rank when called upon to defend their beautiful and beloved Louisiana.

Our ancestors were indeed tossed about by the caprice of kings and rulers from one domination to another, just as a ship is thrown by the tempest from one insecure haven to another. Fortunately, our ship of state, our Louisiana, has at last found a deep and broad harbor in which to cast her anchor; and there, in these United States, will her children see to it that no storm shall ever break the cable and turn the ship adrift again. Our pilot is no longer a European despot; we guide our vessel ourselves, and, with the help of God, we shall continue to do so to the end of time.

CHAPTER XII

UPPER LOUISIANA—ST. LOUIS

Kaskaskia and Fort Chartres—The six early settlements—The British take possession of Fort Chartres—Expedition of Colonel Clark in 1778—Territory east of the Mississippi ceded to the United States in 1783—Foundation of St. Louis—The Spaniards arrive—The early houses—Customs—Fortifications—Floods—The government mansion—Laussat authorizes Captain Stoddard to take possession—Arrival of the American troops—Address of De Lassus to the Indians—Population in 1803 and 1804—Conclusion of the history of colonial Louisiana.



IN the course of this narrative we have frequently had occasion to refer to the Illinois country and to Upper Louisiana, but we shall give further account of that section.

The route of the early explorers of the Mississippi valley lay through the Illinois country, and we remember La Salle's Fort St. Louis in that region. At the end of the seventeenth century "Old Kaskaskia" was founded in the "terrestrial paradise" and soon became a village of some importance.¹ In 1720 Fort Chartres was begun, and it was completed in eighteen months. It became the headquarters of the commandant in Upper Louisiana and, says Monette, the most celebrated fortress in all the valley of the Mississippi.² In the vicinity of Fort Chartres were

DON CARLOS DEHAULT DE LASSUS

1764-1842

(Upper left) last Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Louisiana, who, as the representative of Spain, transferred Upper Louisiana, March 9, 1804, to Major Amos Stoddard, as Agent of the French Republic. Major Stoddard delivered the Province to the United States, March 10, 1804. From a photograph, enlarged from a daguerreotype, belonging to the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Mo.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL FRANCISCO
DE CRUZAT

1739-1798?

(Upper right) second Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Louisiana. From a contemporary miniature belonging to Mr. E. de Cruzat Zanetti, New York, one of his lineal descendants.

COLONEL AUGUSTE CHOUTEAU

1750-1829

(Centre) who, with Pierre Liguist Laclede, founded the city of St. Louis. From a contemporary painting in the possession of the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Mo.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL GEORGE
ROGERS CLARK

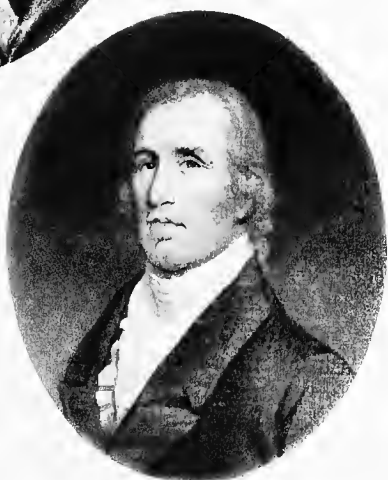
1752-1818

(Lower left) conqueror of the northwestern country, from the Allegheny Mountains to the Mississippi River, from the British, 1778-1779. From a painting attributed to J. W. Jarvis, in the possession of his grandnephew, John O'Fallon Clark, Esq., of St. Louis, Mo.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL WILLIAM
CLARK

1770-1838

(Lower right) who, with Merriwether Lewis, commanded the Lewis and Clark expedition to the Pacific coast, 1804-1806, and was afterward Governor of Missouri Territory, 1813-1821, and superintendent of Indian affairs. From an original portrait by Harding belonging to his grandson, John O'Fallon Clark, Esq., of St. Louis, Mo.



built Cahokia, Prairie du Rocher, and other villages. In 1721 a college and a monastery of the Jesuits were established at Kaskaskia, which became a chartered town in 1725, and was very prosperous during the French domination. There was a lucrative trade, under the French régime, between the Illinois country and Lower Louisiana. Post St. Vincent, on Wabash River, opposite the old French town of Vincennes, was erected in 1735.

"The Illinois country," according to Monette, "east of the Upper Mississippi, contained six distinct settlements, with their respective villages. These were: 1, Cahokia, near the mouth of Cahokia Creek, and nearly five miles below the present site of St. Louis; 2, St. Philip, forty-five miles below the last, and four miles above Fort Chartres, on the east side of the Mississippi; 3, Fort Chartres, on the east bank of the Mississippi, twelve miles above Kaskaskia; 4, Kaskaskia, situated upon the Kaskaskia River, five miles above its mouth, upon a peninsula, and within two miles of the Mississippi; 5, Prairie du Rocher, near Fort Chartres; 6, St. Geneviève, on the west side of the Mississippi, and about one mile from its bank, upon Gabarre Creek."³ All these settlements were still in existence in 1804, when Upper Louisiana was transferred to the United States, except St. Philip. Kaskaskia at that time was reduced to about forty-five families. With the exception of St. Geneviève, which was west of the Mississippi, all the settlements just mentioned became British territory by the stipulations of the treaty of Paris of 1763, by which France

ceded to Great Britain the territory east of the Mississippi, from its source to Bayou Iberville or Manchac.

For two years after the date of the treaty of Paris the British did not take possession of their new possessions, and St. Ange de Bellerive, at Fort Chartres, continued in command.⁴ In 1765 Captain Stirling was appointed commandant of the Illinois country by General Gage, and took possession of Fort Chartres. The French commandant then withdrew to St. Louis, which had been founded in 1764.

By a proclamation dated New York, December 30, 1764, General Gage announced that His Britannic Majesty "grants to the inhabitants of the Illinois the liberty of the Catholic religion," and "agrees that they may retire in full safety and freedom, wherever they please, even to New Orleans, or any other part of Louisiana." The inhabitants who chose to remain were to enjoy the same rights and privileges as the old subjects of the King, and they were commanded to take the oath of fidelity and obedience. They were to conduct themselves like good and faithful subjects, and to act in concert with His Majesty's officers. "By this means alone they will spare His Majesty the necessity of recurring to force of arms, and will find themselves saved from the scourge of a bloody war." A domination begun with threats soon proved oppressive, and many of the French inhabitants retired west of the Mississippi. They hated the British and dreaded the "Bostonais," as they called the Americans, who were then fighting for their independence.⁵

The Illinois country was included within the chartered limits of Virginia, and in 1778 Governor Patrick Henry and the Executive Council determined to take possession of the British posts on the Upper Mississippi and the Wabash—"the fountains of Indian massacre." Colonel George Rogers Clark, at the head of an expedition consisting of not more than one hundred and fifty-three fighting-men, marched through the wilderness and arrived unperceived at Kaskaskia on July 4, 1778. The town was taken by surprise and captured, as well as Fort Gage, where the commandant, Rocheblave, was captured in his bed sleeping. In a short time all the posts and settlements on the Upper Mississippi and on the Wabash were secured by Clark and his brave companions, and in October, 1778, the Illinois country became the county of Illinois in Virginia. The British, however, determined to reconquer the posts captured by Clark, and in December, 1778, Governor Hamilton left Detroit at the head of eighty regular troops, a few Canadian militia, and six hundred Indian warriors. He recaptured the post at Vincennes, but was himself defeated and taken prisoner, in February, 1779, by the intrepid Colonel Clark. From that time the Americans were no longer molested by the British, and the territory east of the Mississippi was finally ceded to the United States by the treaty of Versailles in 1783, which ended the war of the American Revolution.⁶

In 1762 a license was granted Laclede Liguist, Antoine Maxent & Co., by the Governor of Louisiana, to establish an exclusive trade with the Indians of the Mis-

souri and all nations residing west of the Mississippi, for the term of eight years.⁷ Laclede left New Orleans on August 3, 1763, and arrived in the Illinois country on November 3. St. Geneviève, being west of the Mississippi, had not been ceded to the British, but it did not suit Laclede, because it was too far from the Missouri. Nyon de Villiers, commandant at Fort Chartres, offered the trader a place for his goods, but the latter decided to form a settlement of his own. He examined the country carefully, and chose a place, where he marked some trees with his own hand, and he said to Auguste Chouteau: "You will come here as soon as navigation opens, and will cause this place to be cleared, in order to form our settlement after the plan that I shall give you." He was enthusiastic about the situation he had chosen for his settlement, and predicted for it a great future. On March 15 Chouteau began to build a shed for Laclede's provisions, and cabins for the thirty men whom the latter had sent with Chouteau. Laclede arrived at the settlement in April, 1764, laid the plan of the village he desired to found, and named it St. Louis, in honor of Louis XV, says Chouteau, but more probably for the great and pious ancestor of the Bourbons, King Louis IX.

Chouteau relates in his Journal that while they were at work at St. Louis, in the beginning of the settlement, the whole tribe of the Missouris arrived among them. The savages numbered about one hundred and fifty warriors, while the French numbered only thirty or thirty-five men. There was great danger to the new village, but

Laclede succeeded in persuading the Indians to depart. The savages had feared an attack from the English, who were expected at every moment to come to take possession of Fort Chartres. Nyon de Villiers withdrew the garrisons from all the posts ceded to the British, and went down the river with the troops, says Chouteau, "and all the employés of the government, and a large part of the inhabitants of the villages of Fort de Chartres and Prairie du Rocher, for whom he promised to obtain free grants of land near New Orleans for the sacrifices they were making of their property in order to go and settle in Lower Louisiana, under the French Government, rather than remain under the dominion of the English, who were heretics."

"But," adds Chouteau, "the real motive of Monsieur de Nyon was, to take with him a numerous train, and to descend the Mississippi in triumph, to make the government believe that all these people followed him for the great esteem which they had for his person; thereby to gain the confidence of the authorities, in order to obtain a place that he had in view. But when he heard, on arriving at New Orleans, that the country was ceded to Spain, he determined to return to Europe. He forgot all the promises that he had made to these poor, credulous people, who remained upon the strand without knowing where to lay their heads, and the government troubled themselves but little about them, because they knew that the colony would soon change masters." Some of these people settled in Lower Louisiana, and a few returned to the Illinois, where they received the aid of Laclede.

Nyon de Villiers, the commandant of Fort Chartres, was a brother of the officer who had had the honor of compelling Washington to capitulate at Fort Necessity in 1754. When he went to New Orleans in 1764 he left the command of Fort Chartres to St. Ange de Bellerive, who, as we have seen, surrendered it to the British in 1765. The famous Indian chief, Pontiac, is mentioned in Chouteau's Journal as having offered his help to St. Ange against the British. He said to the tribe of the Illinois who hesitated to take up arms with him: "If you hesitate one moment, I will destroy you, like the fire which passes through a prairie; open wide your ears, and remember it is Pontiac who speaks."

Billon, in his "Annals of St. Louis in its Early Days," gives the names of the thirty men who, on March 15, 1764, were, with Chouteau, the pioneers in the settlement of the town. In 1765 several families left the country ceded to the British and established themselves at St. Louis. They had dismantled their houses, and had brought with them everything that could be removed. The village of St. Philip was deserted by all the inhabitants, except by one family, who were compelled to remain, as they could not dispose of a mill they owned, and as the head of the family was the captain of the militia of the village.⁸ Laclede was considered the legal proprietor of the new village, but in 1766 a civil government was found to be necessary, and Louis St. Ange de Bellerive, former commandant of Fort Chartres, was unanimously elected temporary governor by the inhabitants of St. Louis. Joseph Lefebvre was associated with him as judge, and Joseph

Labuscière, former King's attorney, became acting secretary of the temporary government. St. Ange and Labuscière were Canadians, and Lefebvre was a native of France.

At the close of the year 1767, Captain Francisco Rios arrived at St. Louis, with about twenty-five soldiers, to establish the authority of the King of Spain on the west side of the Mississippi, which had been ceded to Charles III by the secret treaty of Fontainebleau, November 3, 1762. The inhabitants of Upper Louisiana were as disappointed as those of Lower Louisiana had been to see their country pass under the Spanish domination, and they received Captain Rios with no enthusiasm. The latter, seeing how unwelcome were the Spaniards, determined to erect a fort that would serve as quarters for his soldiers and as a protection against the Indians. He chose a high, rocky bluff, fourteen miles north of St. Louis, and began the construction of a work, which he called "Fort Prince Charles." Rios acted in Upper Louisiana with much more tact than Ulloa in New Orleans, and was respected by the inhabitants. When Ulloa was expelled from the province by the Revolution of 1768, Captain Rios left St. Louis and his fort and went to New Orleans with his soldiers.

The Spanish domination was established on May 20, 1770, by Captain Pedro Piernas, who had been sent for that purpose by General O'Reilly with two companies of the "Stationary Regiment of Louisiana" (*el regimiento fijo*), of which Don Luis de Unzaga was the colonel. This was one of the regular

Spanish regiments of infantry and was assigned by O'Reilly to the permanent occupation of Louisiana. The headquarters of the regiment were at New Orleans. There was one company at St. Louis, with squads at St. Geneviève and at New Madrid.⁹ The population of St. Louis, at the beginning of the Spanish domination, in 1770, was about five hundred souls. There were in the village, at that time, one hundred houses of wood and fifteen of stone.

With regard to the authority of the Spaniards in Upper Louisiana, Billon makes a statement that applies in almost every particular to Lower Louisiana and is very interesting:

During the thirty-four years of Spanish authority succeeding the first six years of French rule, the place continued to be French in every essential but the partial use of Spanish in a few official documents; the intercourse of the people with each other and their governors, their commerce, trade, habits, customs, manners, amusements, marriages, funerals, services in church, parish registers, everything, was French; the governors and officers all spoke French, it was a *sine qua non* in their appointment; the few Spaniards that settled in the country soon became Frenchmen, and all married French wives; no Frenchman became a Spaniard; two or three of the governors were Frenchmen by birth; the wives of Governors Piernas and Trudeau were French. With the exception of the Spanish officials and soldiers, not more than a dozen Spaniards came to the place during the domination of Spain; Governor de Lassus was born in France, and Trudeau was of French stock, and nearly all the papers in the archives were in the French language. The country was only Spanish by possession, but practically French in all else.

Religious services were held in a tent from 1764 to 1768, and in a log chapel from 1768 to 1776, when the first church was built. "About four fifths of the early houses," says Billon, "were of posts set in the ground, the best of them hewed about nine inches square; the others of round posts set about three feet deep; a few of the best of these houses were of hewed posts set on a stone wall from four to five feet high above ground. The largest portion of these houses were from twenty to thirty feet in size, divided usually into two, and some of them into three rooms." The household furniture was scant and very plain; the water generally used for drinking was taken from the Mississippi; agriculture, besides vegetables, consisted in a little corn and wheat; the amusements for the men were billiards, cards, and pony races—"rarely anything staked"; for the women, "fiddling and dancing and the usual amount of gossiping and small-talk." As the Sabbath was considered over at noon, after high mass, the principal dancing parties were on Sundays, and the judgment sales, by decree of the governor, took place on that day at noon, when all the people had assembled to hear mass. There was little coin in the country, and the circulating medium was furs and peltries.

Captain St. Ange de Bellerive, first military commandant and acting governor of Upper Louisiana, on May 20, 1770, delivered possession of that part of the province to Don Pedro Piernas. The latter had married a French woman from New Orleans—Félicité Robineau de Portneuf. His administration as lieutenant-governor of

Upper Louisiana was as mild and beneficent as that of his superior at New Orleans, Governor Unzaga; and when he retired from office, on May 20, 1775, the principal inhabitants of St. Louis expressed to him their respect and gratitude.

The successor of Captain Piernas was Lieutenant-Colonel Francisco Cruzat. On May 19, 1776, Father Bernard de Limpach, the parish curate, arrived from New Orleans. The first regular curate was Father Valentin. Father Bernard bore credentials from our old Capuchin friend, Father Dagobert, who conferred on him "the curacy, or parish church, of St. Louis, of Illinois, Post of Pain-Court."¹⁰

Don Francisco Cruzat, who was a very estimable man, was succeeded in 1778 by Captain Fernando de Leyba. The latter had been appointed lieutenant-governor by the brilliant Bernardo de Galvez.

On June 20, 1778, Pierre Laclede Liguist, the founder of St. Louis, died at the mouth of the Arkansas, on his way to St. Louis from New Orleans.¹¹ He was the junior partner of the firm of Maxent, Laclede & Co., of which Colonel Antonio Gilberto Maxent, Indian agent at New Orleans, was the senior partner. Laclede's first house, where he transacted his business, was long occupied by the lieutenant-governors, and was finally bought by Auguste Chouteau in 1789. Chouteau was related to Laclede, and up to the latter's death was his chief clerk. Laclede did not leave a large estate; his mill was bought by Chouteau for two thousand livres, and his farm by Chouteau's mother for seven hundred and fifty livres.

On May 26, 1780, a party of savages, from the east side of the Mississippi, crossed the river and massacred seven men. The widow of one of these men married John B. Trudeau, "who was," says Billon, "the only village schoolmaster of the Spanish days, and who continued to teach his little French school for almost half a century until near his death in 1827."

Don Fernando de Leyba died on June 28, 1780, and was buried in the village church of St. Louis. Don Silvio Francisco de Cartabona, commandant at St. Geneviève, acted as Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Louisiana until the arrival, on September 24, 1780, of Don Francisco Cruzat, who was reappointed to that office by Governor Galvez.

On account of the massacre of May 26, 1780, Cruzat directed Chouteau to make a plan of fortifications for St. Louis. These were begun, but never completed. In the year 1784 there were terrible floods of the Mississippi and of the Missouri, and the village of St. Geneviève was destroyed. It was rebuilt, in 1785, two miles above the original village. In 1783 Lieutenant-Governor Cruzat abandoned the old Laclede mansion, and bought a stone house for his residence and government business. He sold it to Auguste Chouteau in 1787, but it remained the government mansion until the cession to the United States.

On November 27, 1787, Don Francisco Cruzat was succeeded by Captain Manuel Perez, who was appointed by Governor Mirò. Perez was succeeded on July 21, 1792, by Don Zénon Trudeau, a captain in the Regiment

of Louisiana and a Canadian by birth. The Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Louisiana was often called "commandant-in-chief of the western part of the Illinois." In 1794 some works of defense and barracks were completed. They are called by Billon the "Fort on the Hill."

Lieutenant-Governor Trudeau was succeeded on August 29, 1799, by Colonel Carlos Dehault de Lassus, who had been commandant at New Madrid for the previous three years, and whose appointment, says Billon, was made by express orders from Spain.

Don Carlos de Lassus was born at Lille in 1764. He belonged to an old family of the French nobility in Hainault. He entered the Spanish service at the age of eighteen, in the royal regiment of guards, was appointed lieutenant-colonel, in 1793, for distinguished services, and in 1794 was ordered to the command of a battalion of the King's body-guard at Madrid. His father having been driven from France during the Revolution, Colonel de Lassus requested to be transferred to the Louisiana Regiment, of which he became lieutenant-colonel. In 1796 he was appointed commandant of New Madrid, and in 1799 Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Louisiana. He became full colonel of the Louisiana Regiment in 1802, and some time after the transfer of Louisiana to the United States he succeeded Governor de Grandpré at Baton Rouge, where he appears again in 1810, at the time of the revolution in West Florida.

In the year 1802 Colonel de Lassus had some trouble with the Mashcoux Indians, who called themselves Talapoosa Creeks. Five of them were captured and taken

to New Madrid, where, by order of the Governor-General of Louisiana, De Lassus had the principal culprit executed.

On December 30, 1803, Casa Calvo and Salcedo, the Spanish commissioners, wrote to Lieutenant-Governor de Lassus that they had delivered the province of Louisiana to the French commissioners on November 30, 1803, and requested him to deliver to the agent or officer of the French prefect the post and dependencies under the orders of De Lassus.

On January 12, 1804, Commissioner Laussat wrote to De Lassus that he had forwarded to Captain Stoddard documents authorizing him to receive the civil and military possession of Upper Louisiana, in virtue of the treaty of St. Ildefonso, in the name of the French Republic, and to keep possession of it for the United States. Pierre Chouteau was appointed by Laussat to make an inventory and appraisal of the buildings and houses that belonged to the King of Spain.

On Friday, March 9, 1804, the American troops crossed the river from Cahokia, under the command of Lieutenant Worrall; and Captain Stoddard, accompanied by Captain Meriwether Lewis and others, went to the government house, and was received by Colonel de Lassus, in the presence of the officials and prominent citizens, some of the inhabitants being assembled in the street. De Lassus then issued the following proclamation:

March 9, 1804.

INHABITANTS OF UPPER LOUISIANA: By the King's command, I am about to deliver up this post and its dependencies. The flag

under which you have been protected for a period of nearly thirty-six years is to be withdrawn. From this moment you are released from the oath of fidelity you took to support it. The fidelity and courage with which you have guarded and defended it will never be forgotten; and in my character of representative I entertain the most sincere wishes for your perfect prosperity.

Colonel de Lassus then delivered to Captain Stoddard "the full possession, sovereignty, and government of Upper Louisiana, with all the military posts, quarters and fortifications thereto belonging or dependent thereof." The *procès-verbal* of the transfer was executed in triplicate and signed by De Lassus and Stoddard, with Captain Meriwether Lewis, Antoine Soulard, surveyor-general, and Charles Gratiot, as witnesses.

Captain Stoddard replied to De Lassus, and then the Spanish troops at the Fort on the Hill fired a salute ordered by the lieutenant-governor. "Upon the conclusion of the proceedings at the government house," says Billon, "the American troops were marched up to the Fort on the Hill, where they were received by the Spanish troops under arms, and after an exchange of salutes received possession, and were quartered therein, the Stars and Stripes being displayed on the staff in place of the standard of Spain." The posts surrendered with St. Louis were these: St. Geneviève, New Bourbon, Cape Girardeau, New Madrid, Carondelet, St. Andrew, St. Ferdinand, St. Charles, Portage des Sioux, Maramek, and Missouri.¹²

At the request of Captain Stoddard, Colonel de Lassus delivered an address to the Delawares, Abenakis,

Saquis, and other Indian tribes, announcing the transfer of the province to the United States. He concluded his address with the following words:

For several days past we have fired off cannon-shots to announce to all the nations that your Father the Spaniard is going, his heart happy to know that you will be protected and sustained by your new father, and that the smoke of the powder may ascend to the Master of Life, praying him to shower on you all a happy destiny and prosperity in always living in good union with the whites.

The population of Upper Louisiana in 1803, according to the census made by the American consul at New Orleans and quoted by Judge Martin, was 6028; and of the whole province, 49,473. Captain Stoddard, however, gives the following figures for 1804, which seem exaggerated: Upper Louisiana, 9020 whites and 1320 blacks; Lower Louisiana, 41,700 whites, 38,800 blacks; total for the whole province, 90,840.

Stoddard gives a description of St. Louis in 1804 which is interesting.¹³

The situation of the town is elevated; the shore is rocky, which effectually prevents the encroachments of the river. It has two long streets running parallel with the Mississippi, with a variety of others intersecting them at right angles. It contains about one hundred and eighty houses, and the best of them are built of stone. Some of them, including the large gardens, and even squares, attached to them, are inclosed with high stone walls; and these, together with the rock scattered along the shore and about the streets, render the air uncomfortably warm in summer. A small sloping hill extends along in the rear of the town, on the

summit of which is a garrison, and behind it an extensive prairie, which affords plenty of hay, as also pasture for the cattle and horses of the inhabitants.

In his "Sketches of Louisiana," Stoddard mentions an attack upon St. Louis in 1780 by the English commandant at Michilimackinac. He had with him about fifteen hundred Indians and one hundred and forty English, and in the attack sixty of the inhabitants were killed, and thirty taken prisoners. Colonel Clark came to the help of the people of St. Louis, and the invaders withdrew. The expedition had not been sanctioned by the English court, says Stoddard, "and the private property of the commandant was seized to pay the expenses of it; most likely because it proved unfortunate."

On taking command of Upper Louisiana, Captain Stoddard published to the inhabitants a judicious and patriotic circular address, which he gives in full in his "Historical Sketches of Louisiana." Speaking of Jefferson, he said: "And the merit derived from the acquisition of Louisiana, without any other, will perpetuate his fame to posterity." With regard to that part of the province of which he was to be the commandant, Stoddard uttered these prophetic words: "In fine, Upper Louisiana, from its climate, population, soil, and productions, and from other natural advantages attached to it, will, in all human probability, soon become a star of no inconsiderable magnitude in the American constellation."

Billon, in his "Annals of St. Louis," gives the following information about Captain Stoddard, the first Ameri-

can civil and military commandant of Upper Louisiana: He was born in Massachusetts, and was appointed captain of artillery in 1798 by President Adams. On July 1, 1804, Major James Bruff became military commandant at St. Louis, but Captain Stoddard remained civil commandant until September 30, 1804, when he was relieved by General William Henry Harrison, Governor of Indiana Territory. Captain Stoddard was then ordered to the South, and while there he was promoted to the rank of major in 1807. During the war with England he was mortally wounded at Fort Meigs in Ohio, on May 5, 1813. Major Stoddard's "Historical Sketches of Louisiana" are an interesting and valuable contribution to American history.

Here we conclude the history of Colonial Louisiana. We have related many heroic events, from the first discovery by the Spaniards to the cession of the immense province to the United States. In our next volumes we shall give the history of American Louisiana, and we shall see that it is not less interesting and heroic than that of French and Spanish Louisiana.

NOTES

NOTES

CHAPTER I

¹ Spanish Manuscripts in the custody of the Louisiana Historical Society.

² Gayarré, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, Vol. II, Appendix.

³ Spanish Manuscripts, Louisiana Historical Society.

⁴ Martin and Gayarré give the name of St. Denis instead of Trudeauau.

⁵ Spanish Manuscripts, Louisiana Historical Society.

⁶ Spanish Manuscripts, Louisiana Historical Society.

⁷ Gayarré, *History of Louisiana*, Vol. III.

⁸ Spanish Manuscripts, Louisiana Historical Society.

CHAPTER II

¹ Kindly placed at the disposal of the writer by his cousin, Mrs. Albert Baldwin, of New Orleans, a descendant of Francisco Boulogny.

² About Paincourt, see note 10, page 341.

CHAPTER III

¹ Martin's Louisiana.

² Spanish Manuscripts, Louisiana Historical Society.

³ Spanish Manuscripts, Louisiana Historical Society.

⁴ Spanish Manuscripts, Louisiana Historical Society.

⁵ Fortier's *Louisiana Studies*, p. 197.

⁶ Spanish Manuscripts, Louisiana Historical Society.

⁷ Gayarré, *History of Louisiana*, Vol. III.

⁸ Peter J. Hamilton, *Colonial Mobile*.

⁹ The letters were all copied from the Colonial Records in London by Mr. William Beer, of New Orleans.

¹⁰ Hamilton's Colonial Mobile.

¹¹ "Diario de las operaciones de la expedicion contra la Plaza de Panzacola concluida por las Armas de S. M. Católica baxo las órdenes del Mariscal de Campo D. Bernardo de Galvez." Kindly placed at our disposal by Mr. William Beer, librarian of the Howard Memorial Library, New Orleans.

¹² Diario.

¹³ Diario.

CHAPTER IV

¹ Martin's Louisiana.

² Monette's Valley of the Mississippi.

³ Monette's Valley of the Mississippi.

⁴ Pickett's History of Alabama, Vol. II.

⁵ Archives Ministry of the Colonies, Paris.

⁶ Gayarré's Louisiana, Vol. III.

⁷ Placed at our disposal by Mr. William Beer, of New Orleans.

⁸ In a book printed in Mexico, in 1787, the true date of the death of the heroic conqueror of Pensacola is given—1786. The title of the book is "Recopilacion Sumaria de todos los autos acordados de la Real Audencia y Sala del Crimen de esta Nueva España, por el Doctor Don Eusebio Bentura Beleña, del Consejo de S. M." The author dedicates his work to Don Miguel de Galvez y Saint Maxent, Conde de Galvez y Comendador de Bolaños en la Orden de Calatrava, the five-year-old son of Galvez. On the first page is a pretty picture of the boy, to whom the author says that, as the early death of the viceroy has deprived him of the satisfaction of dedicating his book to the father, he dedicates it to the son. He quotes then four letters written by the Audencia to the King and his ministers about Galvez. In one of the letters it is said that the viceroys died at the town of Tacubaya, on November 30, 1786, at the very moment when the King expressed his intention to maintain him in his office, and his satisfaction at his prudent and active conduct as viceroy. This letter of the King, dated August 18, 1786, disproves the assertion made by Gayarré that when Galvez died the King was on the point of removing him from his office in New Spain, as he was thought to be planning the establishment of an independent government. The King granted a pension of fifty thousand reales to the widow of

Galvez, Doña Felicitas Saint Maxent, six thousand reales to his daughter, Doña Matilda de Galvez, four thousand to his step-daughter, Doña Adelaide Detréhan, twelve thousand to his posthumous child if a son, and six thousand if a daughter. His son Miguel was named "Comendador de Bolaños en la Orden de Calatrava."

⁹ Spanish Manuscripts, Louisiana Historical Society.

¹⁰ Martin's Louisiana.

¹¹ Monette's Valley of the Mississippi.

¹² Gaspar Cusachs, Publications of the Louisiana Historical Society, Vol. II, Part II (1898).

¹³ Martin's Louisiana.

¹⁴ Gayarré's Louisiana, Vol. III.

¹⁵ Spanish Manuscripts, Louisiana Historical Society.

¹⁶ Spanish Manuscripts, Louisiana Historical Society.

¹⁷ Martin's Louisiana.

CHAPTER V

¹ Spanish Manuscripts, Louisiana Historical Society.

² Spanish Manuscripts, Louisiana Historical Society, Despatch of Mirò, February 20, 1788.

³ Spanish Manuscripts, Louisiana Historical Society.

⁴ Monette's Valley of the Mississippi.

⁵ Martin's Louisiana.

⁶ Monette's Valley of the Mississippi.

⁷ Spanish Manuscripts, Louisiana Historical Society.

⁸ Spanish Manuscripts, Louisiana Historical Society.

⁹ Spanish Manuscripts, Louisiana Historical Society.

¹⁰ Spanish Manuscripts, Louisiana Historical Society.

¹¹ Judge Gayarré, in his history of the Spanish domination of Louisiana, relates a conversation that took place between the Commissary of the Inquisition and the officer sent by Mirò to convey Father Antonio de Sedella on board the ship that was to take him to Cadiz. The writer has based his narrative of this curious incident on the same documents that Judge Gayarré had in his possession—the very important copies of documents in the custody of the Louisiana Historical Society—and yet no mention of the conversation is made in the two despatches that refer to the dismissal of Father Antonio.

It is probable that the latter himself related to Judge Gayarré his conversation with the Spanish officer. Judge Gayarré, who was born in 1805, must have known many persons who played an important part in our history, and must have learned from them facts which are not found in the Spanish documents which were at his disposal and which are now at ours.

¹² Spanish Manuscripts, Louisiana Historical Society.

¹³ Spanish Manuscripts, Louisiana Historical Society.

¹⁴ Spanish Manuscripts, Louisiana Historical Society.

¹⁵ Martin's Louisiana.

CHAPTER VI

¹ Martin's Louisiana.

² Spanish Manuscripts, Louisiana Historical Society.

³ Perrin du Lac, *Voyage dans les deux Louisianes*.

⁴ Gayarré's Louisiana, Vol. III.

⁵ Spanish Manuscripts, Louisiana Historical Society.

⁶ Reproduced in facsimile, with the permission of the owner, Mr. W. H. Wilson, of New Orleans, in Publications of the Louisiana Historical Society, Vol. I, Part IV, 1896.

⁷ Spanish Manuscripts, Louisiana Historical Society. Despatch of Carondelet, December 10, 1794.

⁸ Gayarré's Louisiana, Vol. III.

⁹ Charles Patton Dimitry, in Bouchereau's Louisiana Sugar Report, for 1895-96, says it was in 1795 that Boré began his preparations for his crop. This assertion is borne out by Pontalba in his memoir presented to Bonaparte in 1801.

¹⁰ The writer is indebted for details about Boré to the late Charles Le Breton, who was a great-grandson of Boré.

¹¹ Father P. M. L. Massardier, in *Times-Democrat*, September 13, 1902.

¹² Monette's Valley of the Mississippi, Vol. I.

¹³ Gayarré's Louisiana, Vol. III.

¹⁴ Spanish Manuscripts, Louisiana Historical Society.

¹⁵ Monette's Valley of the Mississippi, Vol. I, Book IV.

¹⁶ Called "Power" in all other histories.

CHAPTER VII

¹ Martin's Louisiana.

² In English in the text.

³ TRAITÉ

Préliminaire et secret entre S. M. C. et la République Française touchant l'aggrandissement de S. A. R. l'Infant Duc de Parme en Italie, et la rétrocession de la Louisiane.

S. M. Catholique ayant toujours témoigné beaucoup de sollicitude à procurer à S. A. R. le Duc de Parme un aggrandissement qui mît ses Etats en Italie sur un pied plus conforme à sa dignité; et la République française de son côté ayant depuis longtems manifesté à S. M. le Roi d'Espagne le désir d'être remise en possession de la Colonie de la Louisiane, les deux Gouvernements s'étant communiqué leur but sur ces deux objets d'intérêt commun, et les circonstances leur permettant de prendre à cet égard des engagements qui leur assurent autant qu'il est en eux cette satisfaction mutuelle, ils ont autorisé à cet effet, sçavoir, S. M. C. Don Mariano Louis d'Urquijo Chevalier le l'Ordre de Charles III et de celui de St. Jean de Jérusalem, Son Conseiller d'Etat, Son Ambassadeur Extraordinaire et plénipotentiaire nommé près la République Batave, et son Premier Secrétaire d'Etat, par interim, et la République française le Citoyen Alexandre Berthier, Général en Chef, lesquels après avoir fait l'échange de leurs pouvoirs sont convenus, sauf ratification, des Articles ci-après.

ART. 1^{er}

La République française s'engage à procurer en Italie à S. A. R. l'Infant Duc de Parme un aggrandissement de territoire qui porte ses Etats à une population d'un Million à douze cent mille habitans avec le titre de Roi et tous les droits, prérogatives et prééminences, qui sont attachées à la dignité royale; et la République française s'engage à obtenir à cet effet l'agrément de Sa Majesté l'Empereur et Roi, et celui des autres Etats intéressés, de manière que Son Altesse l'Infant Duc de Parme puisse sans contestation être mise

en possession des dits territoires à la paix à intervenir entre la République française et Sa Majesté Imperiale.

ART. 2^e

L'Aggrandissement à donner à S. A. R. le Duc de Parme pourra consister dans la Toscane, dans le cas où les négociations actuelles du Gouvernement français avec S. M. I. lui permettroient d'en disposer. Il pourroit également consister soit dans les trois Légations Romaines, ou dans toutes autres Provinces continentales d'Italie formant un Etat arrondi.

ART. 3^e

Sa Majesté Catholique promet et s'engage de son côté à rétrocéder à la République française six mois après l'exécution pleine et entière des conditions et stipulations ci-dessus, relatives à S. A. R. le Duc de Parme, la Colonie ou Province de la Louisiane, avec la même étendue qu'elle a actuellement entre les mains de l'Espagne, et qu'elle avoit lorsque la France la possédoit, et telle qu'elle doit être d'après les traités passés subséquemment entre l'Espagne et d'autres Etats.

ART. 4^e

S. M. C. donnera les ordres nécessaires pour faire occuper par la France la Louisiane au moment où les Etats qui devront former l'aggrandissement du Duc de Parme seront remis entre les mains de S. A. R. La République française pourra selon ses convenances différer la prise de possession. Quand celle-ci devra s'effectuer les Etats directement ou indirectement intéressés conviendront des conditions ultérieures que pourront exiger les intérêts communs et celui des habitans respectifs.

ART. 5^e

S. M. C. s'engage à livrer à la République française dans les Ports d'Espagne en Europe, un mois après l'exécution de la stipulation relative au Duc de Parme, six vaisseaux de guerre en bon état, percés pour 74 pièces de canon, armés et gréés et prêts à recevoir des équipages et des approvisionnemens français.

ART. 6^e

Les stipulation du présent traité, n'ayant aucune vue nuisible et devant laisser intacte les droits de chacun, il n'est pas à prévoir

qu'elles portent ombrage à aucune Puissance. Néanmoins, s'il en arrivoit autrement, et que les deux Etats par suite de leur exécution fussent attaqués ou menacés, les deux Puissances s'engagent à faire cause commune pour repousser l'aggression comme aussi pour prendre les mesures conciliatoires propres à maintenir la paix avec tous leurs voisins.

ART. 7^e

Les engagements contenus dans le présent traité ne dérogent en rien à ceux qui sont énoncés dans le traité d'alliance signé à St. Ildefonse le 18 Aout 1796 (2 Fructidor an 4^e). Ils lient au contraire de nouveau les intérêts des deux Puissances et assurent les garanties stipulées dans le traité d'alliance pour tous les cas où elles doivent être appliquées.

ART. 8^e

Les Ratifications des présens Articles préliminaires seront expédiées et échangées dans le délai d'un mois ou plutôt si cela se peut à compter du jour de la signature du présent traité.

En foi de quoi Nous Soussignés Ministres, plénipotentiaires, de S. M. C. et de la République française en vertu de nos pouvoirs respectifs avons signé les présens articles préliminaires et y avons apposé nos cachets.

Fait à St. Ildefonse le premier Octobre 1800 (9 Vendémiaire an 9 de la République française).

MARIANO LUIS D'ORQUIJO.

ALEX. BERTHIER.

(L. S.)

(L. S.)

Bonaparte, Premier Consul, au Nom du Peuple Français, Les Consuls de la République ayant vu et examiné le Traité conclu, arrêté et signé à St. Ildefonse le Neuf Vendémiaire an neuf de la République Française (Premier Octobre mil huit cent) par le Citoyen Alexandre Berthier, Général en Chef, en vertu des pleins Pouvoirs qui lui avaient été conférés à cet effet, avec Don Mariano Louis d'Orquijo également muni de pleins pouvoirs, duquel Traité la teneur précède:

Approuve le Traité ci-dessus en tous et chacun des Articles qui y sont contenus, Déclare qu'il est accepté, ratifié et confirmé et Promet qu'il sera inviolablement observé.

A Paris le

⁴ V. Tantet, Survivance de l'Esprit Français aux Colonies perdues.

⁵ Colonial Archives, Paris.

CHAPTER VIII

¹ From notes kindly furnished by Baron Édouard de Pontalba, Senlis, France.

² Notes et Documents, Louisiana Historical Society.

³ General James Wilkinson.

CHAPTER IX

¹ Kindly placed at our disposal by Dr. Joseph Bauer, of New Orleans.

² PROCLAMATION.

AU NOM DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE.

LAUSSAT,
PRÉFET COLONIAL,
AUX LOUISIANAIS.

LOUISIANAIS,

Votre séparation de la France marque une des époques les plus honteuses de ses Fastes, sous un Gouvernement déjà faible et corrompu, après une guerre ignominieuse et à la suite d'une paix flétrissante.

A côté d'un abandon lâche et dénaturé, vous offrites le contraste d'un amour, d'une fidélité et d'un courage héroïques.

Tous les cœurs Français en furent attendris, et n'en ont jamais perdu la mémoire: ils s'écrièrent alors, avec orgueil, et ils n'ont depuis cessé de répéter que *leur sang coulait dans vos veines*.

Aussitôt qu'ils ont eu repris leur dignité et reconquis leur gloire, par la Révolution et par une suite prodigieuse de triomphes, ils ont reporté sur vous leurs regards: vous êtes entrés dans leurs premières négociations; ils voulaient que votre rétrocession signalât leur première Paix.

Le tems n'en était pas encore venu. Il fallait qu'un Homme parut, à qui rien de ce qui est national, grand, magnanime et juste, ne fut ni étranger, ni impossible; qui, au talent le plus éminent des victoires, unit le talent plus rare d'en tirer et d'en fixer tous les

heureux résultats; qui commandât à la fois, par l'ascendant de son caractère, aux Ennemis la terreur, et aux Alliés la confiance; qui, d'un génie pénétrant, apperçut les véritables intérêts de son pays, et, d'une volonté inébranlable, les embrassât; qui fut né enfin pour rasseoir la France sur ses fondemens, la rétablir dans l'étendue entière de ses limites, et laver toutes les taches de ses Annales.

Cet Homme, il préside aujourd'hui à nos Destinées, et, dès ce moment, LOUISIANAIS, il vous répond des vôtres.

Pour qu'elles soient belles et heureuses, il suffit de seconder, sur ce sol fortuné, les prodigalités de la nature: tels sont aussi les des-seins du Gouvernement Français.

Vivre en paix et en amitié avec tous vos voisins, protéger votre commerce, encourager votre culture, peupler vos déserts, accueillir et favoriser le travail et l'industrie, respecter & les propriétés et les habitudes et les opinions, rendre hommage au Culte, mettre la probité en honneur, conserver aux Lois leur empire et ne les corriger même qu'avec mesure et au flambeau de l'expérience, maintenir une police vigilante et ferme, introduire un ordre et une économie permanens dans toutes les branches de l'administration publique, resserrer chaque jour les nœuds qu'une même origine, les mêmes mœurs, les mêmes inclinations établissent entre cette Colonie et la Mère-Patrie: voilà, LOUISIANAIS, l'honorable mission dont votre CAPITAINE-GÉNÉRAL, (LE GÉNÉRAL DE DIVISION VICTOR,) votre PRÉFET COLONIAL et votre COMMISSAIRE DE JUSTICE, (LE CITOYEN ARMÉ,) se félicitent d'être chargés au milieu de vous.

La réputation du Capitaine-général l'y a devancé: Compagnon d'armes du PREMIER CONSUL, il s'en fit distinguer dès le commencement des campagnes de la fameuse armée d'Italie; dans des jours moins brillans, il étonna Suwarow, en précipitant sa fuite; il fut enfin l'un des Lieutenans de BONAPARTE, A LA BATAILLE DE MARINGO. Mais avec ces titres qui ont illustré son nom, il vous apporte, LOUISIANAIS, le vif desir de vous le rendre cher par toutes les vertus, les soins et les travaux qui, de la part des chefs, peuvent concourir au bonheur des Peuples. Son ardeur pour vos intérêts, la pureté de ses intensions, la justesse de ses vues, l'aménité et l'affabilité de son accès et de ses manières, relevant encore tant de vaillance et de lauriers militaires, lui garantissent votre affection et votre confiance.

Il vous amène de ces Troupes qui ont fait retentir la Terre jusques même sur ces rivages reculés et lointains, du bruit le leur bravoure et de leurs exploits: la Batavie, depuis la paix, a admiré leur bonne conduite et leur excellente discipline; vous les admirerez comme elle.

Vous trouverez enfin, LOUISIANAIS, dans le Commissaire de la justice, lumières, équité, impartialité, désintéressement: il vient à vous, connu d'avance et puissamment recommandé par la renommée de ses talents, de sa proscription et de ses malheurs.

Vous vous applaudirez donc tous les rapports d'être redevenus Français: vous sentirez de jour en jour, davantage, le prix de ce beau titre, objet aujourd'hui d'envie sur tout le Globe.

Nous savons néanmoins, LOUISIANAIS, et nous ne voulons pas le dissimuler, que, durant trente ans, l'Espagne, par la douceur d'un gouvernement réparateur et généreux, s'est efforcée de vous faire oublier la faute sanglante d'un Agent indigne de cette noble Nation.

Elle est l'amie étroite et fidèle de la nôtre: ce n'est pas nous qui vous inspirerons de la payer d'ingratitude.

Nous tâcherons de rivaliser d'efforts bienfaisans, avec les Chefs d'élite qu'elle vous donnait.

Votre dévouement à la RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE, notre commune Patrie, votre reconnaissance pour ceux qui vous y rallient et qui nous envoient, le spectacle journalier de votre prospérité croissante, seront, LOUISIANAIS, la récompense que nous ambitionnerons sans cesse, pour un zèle et des peines dont les seules bornes seront celles de l'accomplissement de nos devoirs et de nos vœux.

A la Nouvelle-Orléans, le 6 Germinal, An XI de la République Française.

LAUSSAT,
Par le Préfet Colonial,

*L'Officier d'administration, faisant
fonctions de Secrétaire,*

DAUGEROT.

³ Spanish Manuscripts, Louisiana Historical Society.

⁴ Barbé-Marbois, Histoire de la Louisiane.

⁵ Notes et Documents, Louisiana Historical Society, p. 847.

⁶ Notes et Documents, Louisiana Historical Society, p. 850.

⁷ O'Reilly.

⁸ Victor Tantet, Survivance de l'Esprit Français dans les Colonies Perdues.

- ⁹ Colonial Archives, Paris. Copied by the writer.
¹⁰ Colonial Archives, Paris. Copied by the writer.
¹¹ Colonial Archives, Paris. Copied by the writer.
¹² Gayarré's Louisiana, Vol. III.
¹³ Notes et Documents, Louisiana Historical Society.
¹⁴ Tantet, Survivance de l'Esprit Français.
¹⁵ Spanish Manuscripts, Louisiana Historical Society.
¹⁶ There was no bishop at that time in New Orleans.
¹⁷ Spanish Manuscripts, Louisiana Historical Society.
¹⁸ Colonial Archives, Paris. Copied by the writer.
¹⁹ Robin, Voyages dans l'Intérieur de la Louisiane.
²⁰ Colonial Archives, Paris. Copied by the writer.

CHAPTER X

- ¹ Barbé-Marbois, Histoire de la Louisiane.
² 1803. 30 Avril.
(10 Floréal, An XI)

TREATY BETWEEN THE FRENCH REPUBLIC AND THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

The first Consul of the French Republic in the name of the French people and the President of the United States of America desiring to remove all source of misunderstanding relative to objects of discussion mentioned in the second and fifth Articles of the Convention of the Eight Vendemiaire an neuf thirtieth of Sep^r. 1800 relative to the rights claimed by the United States in virtue of the Treaty concluded at Madrid the twenty seventh of October 1795 between his Catholic Majesty and the said United States & willing to strengthen the union and friendship which at the time of the said Convention was happily established between the two nations have respectively named their Plenipotentiaries—To Wit the First Consul in the name of the French people Citizen Francis Barbé Marbois Minister of the public Treasury—and the President of the United States of America by & with the advice and consent of the Senate of the said States Robert R. Livingston Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States, & James Monroe Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy extraordinary of the said States near the government of the French Republic who

after having respectively exchanged their full powers have agreed to the following articles.

ART. I.

Whereas by the Article the third of the Treaty concluded at St. Ildefonso the ninth Vendemiaire An ninth (first October 1800) between the first Consul of the French Republic & his Catholic Majesty, it was agreed as follows—

“His Catholic Majesty promises and engages on his part to cede to the French Republic, six months after the full and entire execution of the conditions and stipulations herein relative to his Royal Highness the Duke of Parma, the Colony or province of Louisiana with the same extent that it has had in the hands of Spain & that it had when France possessed it, such as it should be after the Treaties subsequently entered into between Spain and other States.”

And whereas in pursuance of the Treaty and particularly of the third Article the French Republic has an incontestable title to the domain & to the possession of the said Territory, the First Consul of the French Republic desiring to give to the United States a strong proof of his friendship, Doth hereby cede to the said United States in the name of the French Republic for ever and in full sovereignty the said territory with all its rights and appurtenances as fully and in the same manner as they have been acquired by the French Republic in virtue of the above mentioned Treaty concluded with his Catholic Majesty.

ART. II.

In the cession made by the preceeding article are included the adjacent Islands belonging to Louisiana, all public Lots, Squares, Vacant Lands, & all public buildings, fortifications, Barracks, and other edifices, which are not private property. The archives, papers and Documents relative to the domain and sovereignty of Louisiana and its dependencies will be left in the possession of the Commissaries of the United States, and copies will be afterwards given in due form to the Magistrates & municipal officers of such of the said papers and documents as may be necessary to them.

ART. III.

The inhabitants of the ceded Territory shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States, and admitted as soon as possible accord-

ing to the principles of the Federal Constitution to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages and immunities of Citizens of the United States, and in the meantime they shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their Liberty, property and the Religion which they profess.

ART. IV.

There shall be sent by the government of France a Commissary to Louisiana to the end that he do every act necessary as well to receive from the officers of his Catholic Majesty the said Country and its dependencies in the name of the French Republic, if it has not been already done, as to transmit it in the name of the French Republic to the Commissary or Agent of the United States.

ART. V.

Immediately after the ratification of the present Treaty by the President of the United States and in case that of the first Consul's shall have been previously obtained, the Commissary of the French Republic shall remit all the military posts of New Orleans & other parts of the ceded territory to the Commissary, or Commissaries named by the President to take possession. The troops whether of France or Spain, who may be there shall cease to occupy any military post from the time of taking possession and shall be embarked as soon as possible, in the course of three months after the Ratification of the Treaty.

ART. VI.

The United States promise to execute such Treaties and Articles as may have been agreed between Spain and the Tribes & Nations of Indians until by mutual consent of the United States & the said Tribes & Nations other suitable Articles shall have been agreed upon.

ART. VII.

As it is reciprocally advantageous to the Commerce of France & the United States to encourage the communication of both Nations for a limited time in the Country ceded by the present Treaty until general arrangement relative to the Commerce of both Nations may be agreed on, it has been agreed between the contracting parties that the French ships coming directly from France or any of her Colonies

loaded only with the produce & manufactures of France & her said Colonies, & the ships of Spain coming directly from Spain or any of her Colonies, shall be admitted during the space of twelve years in the Port of New Orleans, and in all other legal ports of Entry within the ceded territory, in the same manner as the Ships of the United States coming directly from France, or Spain or any of their Colonies without being subject to any other or greater duty on the merchandise, or other or greater Tonnage than that paid by the Citizens of the United States.

During the space of time above mentioned no other Nation shall have a right to the same privileges in the ports of the ceded Territory. The twelve years shall commence three months after the exchange of Ratifications if it shall take place in France, or three months after it shall have been notified at Paris to the French Government if it shall take place in the United States. It is however well understood that the object of the above Article is to favour the manufactures Commerce Freight & Navigation of France and of Spain, so far as it relates to the importations that the French and Spanish shall make into the said Ports of the United States without in any sort affecting the regulations that the United States may make concerning the exportation of the produce & merchandise of the United States or any right they may have to make such Regulations.

ART. VIII.

In future and forever after the expiration of the twelve years the Ships of France shall be treated upon the same footing of the most favored Nation in the ports above mentioned.

ART. IX.

The particular Convention signed this day by the respective Ministers having for its object to provide for the payment of Debts due to the Citizens of the United States by the French Republic prior to the thirtieth of Sep^r. 1800: Eight Vendemiaire An ninth is approved, and to have its execution in the same manner as if it had been inserted in this present Treaty, and it shall be ratified in the same form and in the same time so that the one shall not be ratified distinct from the other. Another particular Convention signed at

the same date as the present Treaty relative to a definitive rule between the contracting parties is in the like manner approved & will be ratified in the same form & in the same time & jointly.

ART. X.

The present Treaty shall be ratified in good and due form, & the Ratifications shall be exchanged in the space of six months after the date of the signature by the Ministers Plenipotentiary, or sooner if possible.

In faith whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed these Articles in the French & English languages, declaring nevertheless that the present Treaty was originally agreed to in the French language & have thereunto put their Seals.

Done at Paris the tenth day of Floréal the Eleventh year of the French Republic—the thirtieth of April One Thousand Eight hundred & three.

BARBÉ MARBOIS
(Seal)

ROBT. R. LIVINGSTON
(Seal)
JAS. MONROE
(Seal)

With regard to the date of the treaty of cession, Barbé-Marbois makes a curious statement. He says that, at the moment of signing the treaty and the conventions, the Americans asked that the three instruments should be drawn up in English and in French. They recognized, however, that it was impossible to have two original texts in two languages, and it was declared, as had been done in 1778, that the original had been drawn up in the French language. It took three days for the translation, and the treaties, concluded on April 30, 1803, and which bear that date, were in reality signed only four days later.

³ By Article III of the first convention, attached to the treaty of cession, the dollar was declared to be worth 5.3333 francs. Eighty million francs were, therefore, equivalent to about fifteen million dollars.

CHAPTER XI

¹ McMaster's History of the People of the United States, Vol. II, p. 631.

² Publications of the Southern History Association, 1902.

³ Martin's Louisiana.

⁴ Spanish Manuscripts, Louisiana Historical Society.

⁵ Notes et Documents, Louisiana Historical Society, p. 857.

⁶ Colonial Archives, Paris. Copied by the writer.

⁷ The full title of the work is as follows:

Mémoires
Sur ma Vie,
A mon fils,
Pendant les années 1803 et suivantes,
Que j'ai rempli des fonctions publiques, savoir:
A la Louisiane,
En qualité de commissaire du gouvernement Français pour la
reprise de possession de cette colonie et pour sa remise aux
Etats-Unis;
A la Martinique,
Comme préfet Colonial;
À la Guyane Française
En qualité de commandant et administrateur pour le roi,
par M. de Laussat (Pierre-Clément)

Vixi et quem dederat cursum fortuna peregi.

Virgile. Oen. Lib. 4.

Pau.

E. Vignancourt, Imprimeur Libraire.

1831.

⁸ Laussat makes a mistake in dates in relating the events preceding the transfer on December 20.

⁹ Notes et Documents, Louisiana Historical Society, p. 845.

¹⁰ C. C. Robin, Voyage.

CHAPTER XII

¹ Monette's Valley of the Mississippi, Vol. I, p. 158.

² It was Pierre Dugué de Boisbriant, a cousin of Bienville, who built Fort Chartres and was the first commandant of the Illinois country.

³ Stoddard's Historical Sketches of Louisiana, p. 232.

⁴ Monette's Valley of the Mississippi, Vol. I, p. 409.

⁵ Monette's Valley of the Mississippi, Vol. I, p. 414.

⁶ The following interesting note was kindly furnished by Mr. Pierre Chouteau, of St. Louis:

While not a part of Louisiana's history, the conquest of the Illinois by Colonel George Rogers Clark in 1778-79 was the most potent factor in shaping its destinies. By this campaign the American commissioners to the Congress of Paris in 1783 were enabled to establish and maintain that a government *de facto* as well as *de jure* had been established, thereby defeating the contentions of the foreign governments, and placing the western boundary of our young republic on the Mississippi River. The Creoles of Louisiana have a pardonable pride in the part taken by their ancestors in this campaign; and that Clark was not unmindful of the services rendered by the Creoles is evidenced by the bountiful manner in which offices of honor and trust were conferred on them after the acquisition of the territory by the United States.

⁷ Fragment of Colonel Auguste Chouteau's narrative of the settlement of St. Louis, placed at the author's disposal through the kindness of Mr. Pierre Chouteau, of St. Louis, a descendant of Laclede and of Auguste Chouteau, founders of the city.

⁸ Billon's Annals of St. Louis, p. 21.

⁹ Billon's Annals of St. Louis, pp. 75, 76.

¹⁰ With regard to the expression *Pain-Court*, the writer has received from Mr. Pierre Chouteau, of St. Louis, the following interesting information: "The sobriquet of Pain-Court and Vide-Poche arose in pleasantry between the inhabitants of St. Louis and Carondelet in the following manner: St. Louis having flour-mills long before Carondelet, the inhabitants of the latter village were obliged to come to St. Louis for supplies. Not always being prepared to pay for

the same, they became known as les Vide-Poche. Our Carondelet brothers retaliated by calling us Pain-Court."

¹¹ Billon says that Pierre Margry fixes Laclede's birth about 1724, in the parish of Bedons, in the valley of the Aspre, diocese of Oléron in Béarn, about fifteen leagues from Pau, capital of ancient Navarre.

¹² Referring to the transfer of Louisiana to the United States at New Orleans on December 20, 1803, McMaster (Vol. III, p. 13) says: "In this transfer Upper Louisiana was not included. Indeed, it was not till March 9, 1804, that Major Amos Stoddard, as agent of the French Republic, received Upper Louisiana from the representatives of Spain. On March 10, 1804, Major Stoddard delivered the Upper Province to the United States."

The following note was kindly furnished by Mr. Pierre Chouteau: "The ceremonies of the transfer of Upper Louisiana at St. Louis, March 9 and 10, 1804, were not as elaborate as those at New Orleans, but were none the less impressive. Captain Amos Stoddard, of the United States army, was commissioned on the part of France to receive the territory from the Spanish lieutenant-governor; and in deference to the French Republic and the wishes of our people, he ordered the tricolor to proclaim the sovereignty of France over Upper Louisiana for one day. On March 10 he completed the transfer of Upper Louisiana, begun the previous December in New Orleans."

¹³ Stoddard's Historical Sketches of Louisiana, p. 226.

